

This book is intended to construct a basis for the understanding of the rites and practices associated with exorcism, or jinn eviction as it is performed within the maraboutic institution called zawiya. Jinn eviction as it occurs in the maraboutic institution reproduces ideologies and social hierarchies of traditional society through the use of a variety of healing symbols and rituals. These symbols are delved into for the benefit of understanding the perennial cultural foundations of the discourse and practice of power in Morocco. The result is an ethnography of possession that has combined meticulous ethnographic field work with critical discourse analysis.



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Jinn Eviction as a Discourse of Power

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**Jinn Eviction as a
Discourse of Power**

**A Multidisciplinary
Approach to Moroccan
Magical Beliefs
and Practices**

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Jinn Eviction as a Discourse of Power

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A Multidisciplinary Approach to Moroccan
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By

Mohammed Maarouf



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*To the memory of my parents,
al-Haj Mbarek and Shrifat Lalla Rqiya*

*To my daughter,
Chaimae*

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NOTE ON transliteration

The transliteration of Arabic terms in this book generally follows the IJMES system. Place names with accepted English spellings and personal names of prominent political or cultural figures are spelled in accordance with English norms. Technical terms, even those that occur in written, classical Arabic, are transliterated as they are pronounced in the spoken Arabic of the region in which I worked. The text would have been unnecessarily complicated had I followed separate conventions for the spoken and written variants. For example, the word for jinn eviction is *ṣṛi* in Moroccan Arabic, *ṣṣar* in classical Arabic. Specialists will easily be able to reconstitute the classical forms. Words are spelled in the singular, with plurals indicated by 's.' Commonly known plurals in western languages are kept intact (e.g., *ʿulama*).

Table 1. Transliteration of Arabic Letters

Arabic Letter	Transliteration
ب	<i>b</i>
ت	<i>t</i>
ث	<i>th</i>
ج	<i>j</i>
ح	<i>h</i>
خ	<i>kh</i>
د	<i>d</i>
ذ	<i>dh</i>
ر	<i>r</i>
ز	<i>z</i>
س	<i>s</i>
ش	<i>sh</i>
ص	<i>ṣ</i>
ض	<i>ḍ</i>
ط	<i>ṭ</i>
ظ	<i>ẓ</i>
ع	<i>ʿ</i>
غ	<i>gh</i>
ف	<i>f</i>
ق	<i>q</i>
ك	<i>k</i>
گ	<i>g</i>
ل	<i>l</i>
م	<i>m</i>
ن	<i>n</i>
ه	<i>h</i>
و	<i>w</i>
ي	<i>y</i>
ء	<i>ʾ</i>

گ : pronounced as 'g' in 'grand.'

ك : pronounced as 'k' in 'kook.'

و : when used as consonant = w, pronounced as 'w' in 'will.'

ي : when used as consonant = y, pronounced as 'y' in 'yoke.'

ء : (*hamza*) = ', indicating that there is a slight interruption in the pronunciation of the two letters between which it is placed.

tt : double consonants indicate gemination.

- links verbs and pronouns, prepositions and pronouns, nouns and pronouns, prepositions and nouns.

The vowels in the transliterated texts represent, at least approximately, the following sounds:

a / u / i / e / aw / ay or ai

The sign ^ˉ over a vowel indicates that it is long.

The sign [˘] over a vowel indicates that it is short.

The sign / indicates a meaningful utterance.

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I am also much obliged to the *hufidan* and patients at Ben Yeffu and the rest of the *shurfa*, who have contributed to this research with their opinions and spontaneous accounts. I also thank my research assistants—students and friends—who helped me with data collection.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the local authorities who were patient and cooperative throughout the fieldwork.

FOREWORD

Over the course of several years, I collaborated with Mohammed Maarouf on a research project on traditional healers in Morocco. While I was interested in the therapeutic aspects of the encounter between healer and patient, Maarouf's attention was directed to the power relations that characterise that encounter.

In *Jinn Eviction as a Discourse of Power*, Maarouf focuses on a pilgrimage centre in the Moroccan Province of El Jadida. People are treated there for illnesses that are attributed to spirits called *jenn* in Arabic. The word has found its way into every day English under the forms of "jinnee" and "genie," probably thanks to the translation of *The Arabian Nights* into English. The pilgrimage centre is located at the tomb of a Muslim Saint with the name of Ben Yeffu who lived in the fourteenth century and claimed descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Some of his present-day heirs continue the tradition of running the pilgrimage centre and curing callers struck by jinnees.

Spirit possession seems to be a phenomenon of all times and cultures and remains a way for many people to explain their misfortunes and illnesses and cope with them. Morocco is the country that has provided the ethnographic literature with some famous classics on this subject. Despite the modernisation and development of a modern health care system in Morocco, the belief in spirits and the practice of exorcism, or "jinn eviction"—the term the author prefers to use for reasons he will explain himself—seems to have remained as important as ever among certain sections of the Moroccan population.

Anthropology has a long tradition in studying spirit possession and exorcism. It has usually centred on the worldviews that underlay spirit possession and has formulated explanations of the therapeutic aspects of these traditional forms of healing. The originality of Maarouf's study has been his focus on the encounter between the traditional healer and his patient and in exploring the ideology that is reflected and constructed in their interaction. He convinces us that this is a relationship of domination and submission and as such a basic relationship in Moroccan culture, politics and society. In his study, Maarouf has combined meticulous ethnographic field work with critical discourse analysis. The fact that he has always been in close contact with the

popular culture of the people he studied has certainly facilitated and influenced his research.

I had the opportunity to do quite some fieldwork with him. I always liked the ease with which he mixed with the people he was studying and I had to admire his insights into their culture and traditions. That gave him the opportunity to gain rich data which he later treated as analysable texts. His analytical skills proved to be highly productive. All these rich data are interwoven in his argumentation which makes that this book is much more than an analysis of the Moroccan master-servant relationship. It is also a source of information on the history and mythology of a saintly lineage, on the day to day running of a pilgrimage centre, on popular Islam and on traditional conceptions of demonology, illness and healing.

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INTRODUCTION

In Morocco, spirits occupy a prominent position in the popular imagination. They are commonly known as *jnun* (sing. *jenn*) for the males and *jenniyat* (sing. *jenniya*) for the females. Lots of Moroccans, if not all, hold a firm belief in *jnun*, and frequently bring forward the Koran to enhance their belief. Educated or not, they admit that the Koran makes reference to the spirits' existence. Even those who deny their existence may make up their mind in situations of misfortune or while witnessing cases of exorcism during which jinns manifest their presence and sound to speak in different voices. It is commonly believed that these spirits live in tribes and nations, and belong to different religions. There are the Moslems, the Christians, the Jewish, and the infidels. The wicked ones are thought to be the *kafara* (unbelievers) and the Jewish. They launch harmful attacks against humans. When they possess bodies of human beings, they torment them. This is how Moroccan Muslims draw a taxonomic distinction between themselves and the rest of the world while articulating their possession experience. It is not unusual for them as Muslims to construct a spirit world that reflects and reworks the history of their conflict and war against Jews and infidels.

In many regions of Morocco, it is believed that *jnun* manifest themselves in human beings through fits of possession. When the body falls onto the ground in an epileptic or paralytic fit, it is said that the jinni inside it manifests its presence. Thus, an act of exorcism is needed to evict or at least appease the jinni depending on whether the host benefits or suffers from the spirit possession. This process is a ritual done with different rites depending on the pre-existing religious and maraboutic framework the healer and the possessed individual are implicated in.

This act of exorcism is the central research problem in this book. The term "jinn eviction" substitutes for "exorcism" to keep the study as closely attached as possible to the perspective of the local culture and try to avoid any projection of western values on it. Besides, exorcism is a term loaded with a history of its own completely different from the history of jinn eviction in the Islamic World. It is associated with the history of demonology that has its own rites and practices inspired by the Christian tradition. The adjuration process is commonly addressed to evil spirits, demons, and devils, which is not always the case in

Moroccan culture. Jinn eviction (*ṣriʿ*)¹ is addressed both to evil and good spirits. Good spirits are the *muminin* (believer spirits), who, for instance, may haunt women and ask to be married with them, a rapport that is not socially accepted despite the pious behaviour of the jinni, and therefore requires the intercession of the healer or the saint to emancipate the woman from his grip. Moreover, possession is not always harmful (cf. McIntosh, 2004, p. 105). Sometimes, it is beneficiary since the possessed individual may acquire powers that he may consciously exploit for his own self-aggrandizement (like the case of diviners). In this case, jinn eviction is replaced by *ḥadra* (trance dance) that is held to appease the jinni and renew his covenant of servitude to the possessed. Another dissimilarity drawing both exorcism and jinn eviction apart is that *jnun* are popular Islamic cultural and religious constructs evolving within a religious substratum so powerful in the Islamic World. *Jnun* do not exist in the Christian tradition. So, the term jinn eviction will be used as the standard term to refer to the act of Moroccan exorcism.

This book is intended to construct a basis for the understanding of the rites and practices associated with jinn eviction as it is performed within the maraboutic institution called *zawiya*. In fact, it is inspired by a central question that may be formulated as follows: what kind of ideologies and structures of cultural representation does the practice of jinn eviction as it occurs in the maraboutic institution actually establish and reproduce? This question attempts to explore the value systems and sets of beliefs residing in the discursive interaction between the *shrif* healer, the descendant of the prophet Mohammed, and the patient. That is, how does the healer-patient discourse reproduce, if not construct, ideology?

This brings me to the thesis itself. I state that from a linguistic perspective, when the patient consults the healer, they get engaged in a ritualized

¹ The word *ṣriʿ* is a Moroccan Arabic term derived from the classical Arabic word *ṣṣarʿ* (to throw on the ground; to have an epileptic fit). The verb *ṣaraʿa* has the meaning of flinging someone on the floor. There is also *ṣirāʿ* (struggle) or *muṣāraʿa* (wrestle). And there is *maṣruʿ* in the sense of crazy (“Lisan al-ʿArab”, n.d., vol. 8, pp. 196–201). All the derivations of the classical word *ṣṣarʿ* make reference to the meanings conveyed in the Moroccan Arabic term *ṣriʿ* as it is used in the healing discourse. To exorcise the jinni involves struggle, violence, domination and submission. Besides, the corpse is flung on the floor (*kay tih*) by the jinni during the process of *ṣriʿ*. There is also the word *ṣurūʿ*, that is, types of speech (ibid., p. 198). The word refers to the art of speech from persuading to evading. This is tantamount to the meaning of the word *ṣriʿ* as a discourse. It basically involves an exchange between jinni and healer based on arts of speech from requests to commands.

discourse that reflects and to some extent reinforces the cultural and ideological schema of domination and submission.² The term *schema* is more akin in ritual practice to Foucault's notion of "changing soil" on which power relations function and the conditions that make this functioning possible (Foucault, 1980, p. 187).³ The patient and healer seem to interact in a social context structured by asymmetrical relations of power. The healer who belongs to a holy lineage and has the power to control jinns assumes the position of the master while the jinn possessed supplicant who is under the jinns' influence submits to the healer's commands and surrenders to his power. It is a convention of a traditional type recurrent in most shrines curing jinn possession all over the kingdom (Bouya Omar, Ben 'Ashir, Sidi Mas'oud Ben Hsin, Sidi 'Ali Ben Hamdoush, Ben Yeffu, etc.). Submission to the *shrif* or to the jinns he commands seems to be a common-sense practice that patients and saint goers in general do without being aware of its ideological implications. In this way, the social hierarchies that shape the social interaction between the *shrif* and patient go virtually unnoticed.

At the maraboutic institution, a process of *naturalization* operates to mask these social inequalities. Saint goers are drilled by virtue of myth and ritual to submit to the power of the "distributing center." By constructing an ideological discourse naturalizing the supplicant's submissive attitude to the *shrif* and the saint, the maraboutic institution aims to domesticate its followers and discipline them into docile identities. It seeks to pacify saint goers and persuade them to hold faith in the saint and his miracles to change their social conditions. It represents the saint as a "distributing center" that can endow them with *baraka* at any time. This is a ritualized discourse that functions as an opiate legitimizing the power of the "distributing center" (saint/Sultan) and drilling the saint goers into a blind reliance on its miracles. It is an ideological discourse that *reproduces* relationships of dominance and submission existing in

² One should distinguish between relations of power and relations of domination. Power entails resistance but domination entails submission. In relations of domination, resistance is blocked.

³ The expression "master-disciple schema," as A. Hammoudi defines it, is "neither a frame of interpretation nor an ideal type but the condition of production of both... it is more akin, both in ritual practice and in specific cultural history, to what Foucault calls a 'diagram.' It is an abstract configuration which articulates the discourse of saint-hood and of masterhood in general as well as the visible arrangements (Sufi lodges and their networks, disciplined groups of initiates, fortresses, palaces, royal processions and progresses, etc.) within which they unfold and develop" (1997, p. 8).

society and perpetuates people's hope for a miraculous improvement of their social conditions. This discourse draws upon a cultural system of magical beliefs that helps the subaltern groups⁴ continue to hope for a better future and endure their present deprivation in silence. It disciplines them to submit to the centers of distribution of prosperity and power, and thus collaborate with the forces that dominate them. For want of a better term, we will term this discourse "maraboutic discourse"—an inclusive term that constitutes all major healing discursive practices that take place at shrines.

Historically speaking, saints have been regarded as legendary rescuers of the masses from situations of misfortune and disaster. Historiographers state that some have used their riches to house the poor and help the needy; some have used their charisma to call for rain to water the land, and some have used their power to fight against despotic regimes (see al-Bazaz, 1992; Attadili, 1984; Boulqub, 2002). The legends that have survived up to the present still represent saints as sultans in their own realms. A popular myth in this respect states that some saints fought against the Black Sultan (Sultan l-Kḥal) and vanquished him. The Black Sultan⁵ stands for the symbol of terror and oppression in the popular mind. Up to now, the binary opposition—saints vs. the Black Sultan—structures the worldview of the maraboutic society. Its legends convey the war between the Black Sultan and these saints. Sidi Mas'oud Ben Hsin, for instance, is said to have aborted the Sultan l-Kḥal's attack by sending him bees and stinging flies (*na'ra*). In saints' pious legends, the Black Sultan has a mythic touch and tends to refer to any Sultan whose rule has been oppressive. That saints have vanquished him symbolizes that their power is greater than his and thus should be awed. This is a political expression of sainthood whose historical roots we can still trace in Moroccan saints' legends and maraboutic practices. If one visits a saint, like Ben Yeffu or Bouya Omar, for instance, one may think that

⁴ Gramsci's term 'subaltern' is used here in its postcolonial sense to describe a variety of different dominated groups, lower classes, namely the illiterate and poor segments of the population who lack social consciousness. Emphasis is also placed on power relations in this working definition of the subaltern groups. Generally, the term refers to the demographic difference between the total of Moroccan population and the elite.

⁵ The expression Sultan l-Kḥal is used by the commoners to refer both to the Marinid Sultan Abu al-Hasan al-Marini (El Ouaret, 2001, p. 74; Hajji, 1988, p. 97), or, as my respondents claim, to the Alawite Sultan Mulay Ismail due perhaps to their black colour, or dark powers. There are ruins of a palace of the Sultan l-Kḥal in Ras al-Ḥmar on the boundaries between Rhamana and Doukkala.

one is in the presence of a real Sultan. All the ceremonial rituals done at the shrine follow a schema of submission to the Sultan. At Ben Yeffu, the Sultan has a palace, a cairn, a hill, and a horse's hoof print, all endowed with the mythic attributes of the Sultan. Hence, power and ritual converge to create a formidable sultanic institution.

In fact, the Sultanic ruling system is an historical constant in Morocco. Let us not forget that "God ordains that the community never remains without leader (*imam*) and indicates to everyone through the consent of the community which candidate is his elect" (Hammoudi, 1997, p. 13). This is a primordial relationship between the ruler and the ruled in the political history of Morocco. It is sanctioned by the Divine Will. So, when saints or their descendents reproduce authority, they in fact sustain the same cultural schema that Moroccans are familiar with. Though saints are now dead, their descendents and followers still follow the same cultural schema of submission to the Sultan. They treat saints as sultans and perform rituals of submission to them. They hold faith (*niya*)⁶ in their power to invoke prosperity and justice. Thus, the cultural foundations of the ruling power are legitimized by the ritual collective performances in society (cf. Combs-Schilling, 1989).

At this point, I deem it conceivable to point to a paradox at the heart of my choice of this topic to work on. There is a process of modernization going on in Morocco affecting the economic, social, political, and cultural structures while, at the same time, the regime seeks to sustain past forms of traditional society by offering royal donations to the maraboutic institution and helping it maintaining its infrastructure. The questions to ask here may be formulated as follows: Does it mean that the State restores shrines for the sake of encouraging religious tourism? Does it mean that the State supports traditional shrines to counterweight the rising movement of religious fundamentalism and thus consolidates its control over the socio-religious field? Or does it mean the State is still at work reproducing the paradigm of authority that juxtaposes absolute domination and absolute submission (thus, the

⁶ The word '*niya*' in orthodox Islam is the basis of the Moslem's deeds. Everything he does from fasting to prayers must be done with an open heart. It was narrated that the Prophet said: "Deeds are measured with faith and he who accomplishes good deeds with faith will be rewarded" (from *sunan* Abi Daoud; author's translation [all hadiths quoted in the book are retrieved March 2, 2007, from <http://www.al-islam.com/arb/>]). People are advised to practice Islam with *niya*; otherwise, their practice will not be lawfully accepted.

Makhzen changes its ideological strategies and cultural forms with the social change of society while perpetuating its underlying structures alive)?

The term modernization used at this level is very problematic. Should modernization start from within the culture in which it is deployed or should it be imported ready-made from another culture? Is there only one form of modernization—the western model—or are there many *modernizations* and Moroccan society should create its own modernizing model by revisiting and deconstructing its own past? How can the deconstruction of the past be achieved in this case?

One effective way of undoing the past is suggested by the paradigmatic shift we call “cultural studies.” It is a social project that settles scores with the ideological “survivals” of the past. It directs its criticism to the rules of inclusion and exclusion that guide intellectual evaluations, to the reduction of culture to high as opposed to popular culture and to the neglect of relations of domination in the analysis of culture. Cultural studies has come up with alternatives such as interdisciplinarity, critique of ideology, transgression of the canon, and the reconsideration of objectivity in method, and essentialism in theories of race, ethnicity, gender and class. In fact, cultural studies is a politically engaged response to the specific needs of society in economic development and the formation of well-informed and committed citizens (cf. Hoggart, 1958; Williams, 1958).

By virtue of this paradigm shift, modernization can only begin by asking questions from within about our society’s past legacy of political, social and cultural forms and practices. It is impossible to overcome a past we have not understood yet. Moreover, importing a ready-made modernization (as we are doing now) may contribute to the decline of the local aspects of culture. To what extent, for instance, does the western liberal humanist notion of human rights apply to a Moroccan social context where the most pertinent discourse may be that of human dignity? Human dignity, as Chandra Muzaffar (1996) and other non-Western intellectuals maintain, is “based on the right to food, housing, basic sanitation and the preservation of one’s own identity and culture” (cit. in Sardar & Van Loon, 1999, p. 166). Furthermore, modernization is not hegemonic. It is not one economic group that coerces the various strata of society via cultural and political institutions into consenting to its mode of life. In cultural struggle, modernization may express the rich complexity and diversity of a particular culture by giving legitimacy

to popular forms of expression as opposed to the cultural forms and practices of the dominant elite.

Recruited in this paradigmatic shift, my work is broadly concerned with popular culture and seeks to fertilise the ground for further scholarship to come in the field. It is a step further to liberate the humanities from their ideal, humanistic and “unworldly” concerns.

Regarding methodology, I have explored the ideological function of the healing discourse by focusing on the discursive strategies the healer uses to evoke, control, discipline and evict the “jinni” as well as on the discursive strategies used by the latter in his retaliation. The goal of this discourse analysis, as broadly conceived, is to unravel the mystery of jinn eviction, illuminate its often-obscure rules, and clearly mark out its boundaries and the specific roles of its participants. Why should we interpret the practice and discourse of jinn eviction on the basis of a linguistic description?

A key to understanding the theoretical foundation of my argument lies in the structuralist and post-structuralist view of language. Following Sapir, Lacan, Derrida, Althusser, and others, one may assert that language constitutes the individual as a subject. The individual’s subjectivity is determined by the sign-system s/he belongs to. The subject is subject in language, subject of language and subject to language. In a Foucaultian parlance, the subject is slave to language. The medium of expression available in a social context shapes its users’ thinking. If it is impoverished, it will result in the impoverishment of its users and if it constitutes prejudiced and superstitious patterns, it will result in shaping a user whose understanding functions in these terms (the degree of linguistic determinism put forward by this language-y conception and its limitations is discussed in detail in the innovative linguistic approach CDA (critical discourse analysis) expounded by Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; van Dijk, 1998; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak, 2001. So, the analysis here presented is based on the assumption that we cannot have access to the social actors’ worldview except through a discourse analysis of the type of language they use. The maraboutic ideology is reflected, if not constructed, by the maraboutic discourse the healer and maraboutic clients are engaged in.

The present analysis focuses on discourse as representation, as a projection of positions and perspectives. Discourse is used in the Foucaultian sense, as a way of representing social practices, or as a form of knowledge. Beliefs, rituals and all other practices taking place at the

maraboutic institution are treated as linguistic constructs and knowledge schemata that enable the participants in the maraboutic discourse to communicate successfully. In this way, CDA is concerned with discourse as a tool of power and social control as well as with discourse as a representation or rather discursive construction of reality.

My work aims to unmask and critique the ideological maraboutic representation of identity and difference as well as the effects of the practice and discourse of jinn eviction. The method of analysis involves CDA (Kress, 1990; Simpson, 1993; Wodak, 1989), one of the predominant methods entwined with cultural studies. Critical discourse analysis has made the study of language an interdisciplinary *bricolage* that can be used by scholars with various backgrounds. "Bricolage involves the rearrangement and juxtaposition of previously unconnected signifying objects to produce new meanings in fresh contexts. It is a process of re-signification by which cultural signs with established meanings are reorganized into new codes of meaning" (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 6). Most significantly, CDA has an overtly political agenda, which serves to set it off from other methods of analysis. It is nothing more than a deconstructive reading activity and interpretation of a text. The word "text" is applied to any cultural phenomenon that "generates meaning through signifying practices." This semiotic conception of culture "as an assemblage of texts," on Geertz's (1973) account, renders every act of interpretation an overriding concern with patterns of meaning within a sign-system. Every text, therefore, is conditioned and inscribed within a given discourse stratified by a hierarchy of meaningful structures. Discourse analysis will, thus, not offer absolute answers to specific problems but attempt to detect patterns of meaning in a given historical and social context.

All things considered, we may put forward that CDA can be applied to any text, that is, to any problem or situation. Since it is basically interpretative and deconstructive, one may use any postmodern theory of reading starting from deconstruction to social semiotics and still be allied to critical discourse analysis. To enrich the discourse analysis here presented, I have borrowed ideas and analytic concepts from various postmodern theories, and tried to match their concepts with the practical demands of the various data I have collected from the field.

Regarding research techniques, this book is mainly based on conversations, interviews and participant observations conducted in a pilgrimage center in Doukkala, called Ben Yeffu, reputed for curing jinn possession. By gaining the setting members' confidence, observing

their everyday interactions and talking to them about their pursuits, involvements, important memories and key experiences, I have come to grasp their perspectives and the meanings they ascribe to their social activities. Though collecting data is always awkward when one begins a field project, I dare say that it has become easier for me once I got into the field. Here is the whole diary of how I grew to be an instrument of data collection at Ben Yeffu.

My interest in exploring the field of jinn eviction came about logically as I have been working with a Belgian anthropologist Philip Hermans in the field of traditional healing ever since 1996. My research experience and training, however, were exclusively in cultural studies. I conducted researches associated with questions of ideology, canonization, representation and popular forms of cultural expression. Some of these studies were published in the form of articles and others were presented as papers in international conferences upon cross-cultural studies. In the midst of these experiences, I entered the field of traditional healing with Hermans who had been working on the topic for many years. I started learning qualitative methodology to which I was introduced and thus I have fully recognized how participant observation may provide the researcher with rich data that can be treated as analyzable texts.

At first, I was assisting Hermans in his work with traditional healers from Zawiyat Ahensal practicing in El Jadida. Their specialty was the cure of sciatica (*buzalum*). After three years of work in the field and being adequately trained in interviewing techniques, I started looking for a better site for my own research. I felt that the Hansali healers could not provide us with reliable data. They were less important; less equipped and missed the context of the shrine of their ancestor. So, I visited different research sites: Sidi Mas'oud Ben Hsin, Mulay Bouchaib, Ben Yeffu, Sidi 'Isa Ben Makhluḥ, and al-Ghnimyin. After discussing with Hermans the data I collected from my preliminary inquiries, I selected Ben Yeffu at his suggestion as a study site. It was accessible to us because of the personal contacts I had at the shrine, and the actors showed a great deal of enthusiasm for my idea of writing a book on their activities. The saint was also lively with jinn possessed patients visiting it around the week in search of cure.

Ben Yeffu is about 25 kilometers to the East from El-Oualidiya and 105 kilometers to the South from El Jadida, via the coastal road (see map I). The shrine is celebrated for the miracles it is said to have achieved. Many *shurfa* (pl. of *shrif*) from the Buffi lineage are renowned for curing patients inside the periphery and abroad, especially in countries

like Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Emirates, Oman, Kuwait and Libya. The Buffi healers are also distinguished for being able to effect, often dramatically, the remission of symptoms of semi-facial paralysis (*la'rusa/ṭarsh*), walking disability (*zḥaf*), paralysis of other limbs (*raged ṭih jenbu, yedu...*), insomnia (*makay diḥsh n'as*), headache (*ṣda' fi rras*), female hemorrhage (*nazif al-farj*), male hemorrhage (*nazif al-anf*), lack of virility or erection (*mashi rajel/makaynash l-hemma*), conjugal abhorrence (*nufur*), periodic blindness (*l-ma bel wqāt*), which leads the patients or their families to seek their help. All these sicknesses are believed by the Buffis to be caused by *jnun*. The Buffis cure them by evicting the jinni out of the patient. They also claim that they can cure sicknesses that are not caused by *jnun* (like rabies—*jhal*) and can also inflict punishment on people thought guilty of an injury or offense.

The descendents of Ben Yeffu do not follow a Sufi path of their own like other long established brotherhoods whose founding saints have established Sufi paths (*turuq*; sing. *ṭariqa*). The Buffi community has followed different Sufi paths. Some *shurfa* were affiliated to the *ṭariqa ḍarqawiya* (Michaux-Bellaire, 1932, p. 133). Now, there are *shurfa* affiliated to the *ṭariqa al-Bu'azawiya* and others to the *ṭariqa tijaniya*. As for matters of cure, the Buffis are generally very proud of their ancestor's power and do not acknowledge the healing power of any other saint. For them, when a Buffi gets sick he has to implore his grandfather for cure. No other saint can cure a Buffi *shrif*; thus says the Buffi tradition. The Buffi community is in fact divided into *duwars* specialized in curing particular sicknesses and so the Buffi who falls sick consults one of them—for example, the tribe of Oulad Ben Laḥmar (Duwar Mwalin al-Kudya, see the map of the location of the eight descendent lineages) is specialized in curing the Buffi and non-Buffi women from the hemorrhagic discharge of blood from the vagina (*djarya*).

Moreover, the Buffis recite their own local formulas to cure jinn possession. Most of those who practice at the shrine are illiterate and unable to recite Koranic verses over patients while exorcising them. Hence they believe that the Buffis have the power to evict jinns regardless of education. In the Buffis' worldview, the *shrif* may be an uneducated shepherd but a successful curer. The reason they hold such a belief is because *baraka* for them is a hereditary power bequeathed by the saint to his descendents.

When I decided to write a book about the beliefs and practices circulating at Ben Yeffu, I began to search for aspects pertinent to my academic training. It was in that way that I encountered the dialectic of domination and submission. Inspired by Hammoudi's work *Master*

and *Disciple*, and building on the work of Foucault, I have explored the ideological structures reproduced at the shrine. For instance, I have observed the structure of power relations as it is played out in the ritual of jinn eviction, a disciplinary discourse of power that works to drill the subject into the most abject forms of submission. By focusing on the master-servant relationship as the decisive schema that molds the social actors' relations at the shrine, my study aims to give explanations for how the contemporary ideological structures at the maraboutic institution work, and shed light on the patriarchal aspect of its cultural foundations.

The fieldwork research was conducted over a period of two years (October 2001/October 2003). The schedule was that once a week, I drove to Ben Yeffu. I stayed for a day or two days. I made regular visits at different times of the day and on different days of the week. Sometimes I stayed at the shrine for a period of consecutive days until I got familiar with the routine life at the shrine. During the *moussem*, I stayed at the shrine for the whole period and lived with a Buffi family. Thus I tried to observe the routine and the extraordinary. At the shrine, I was usually given a cell where I spent the day interviewing patients and *hufdan* (descendants of the saint having hereditary prerogatives to conduct the rites of cure at the shrine), and observing the healing practices taking place there. I was free to wander around because people were used to my presence. At noon, one of the *hufdan* (sing. *hfid*) would invite me to lunch.

With regard to the social actors in the research setting, there is an ongoing conflict between the *hufdan* about who is to be their *mezwar*/*muqaddem* (leader) after the withdrawal of the ex-*mezwar* from his duty around 1995.⁷ For the time being, one of the notorious *shurfa* at Ben Yeffu is trying to impose his unemployed but schooled son, aged 38, on the *hufdan* as their *mezwar*. The *hufdan* belittle the young man on the ground that he is without valuable knowledge and experience to assume the duty of a leader. Because of such quarrels, all the actors have seen in me the expected referee who may settle their conflicts and restore organization to the shrine. Of course, I did my best to help the *hufdan* better organize themselves and establish their own association

⁷ The ex-*mezwar*'s family members are anonymized in the book because my informants—*hufdan* and *shurfa*—trusted me with strictly confidential information. They directed secret accusations to some of the family members. It took the form of gossiping, sometimes in a tone of anxiety and fear from being in trouble. I promised them confidentiality by giving fictitious names to the family members in question.

but could not solve their conflicts. Though I was completely drawn into their problems, I could not referee their meetings because that would have damaged my “neutral” stance at the shrine. I tried to stand as a detached participant observer.

Participant observation includes sharing people’s lives and activities, long-term face-to-face relations, and “greater contact and intimacy between researchers and their subjects” (P. A. Adler & P. Adler 1987, p. 13) though researchers have to be alert to the problem of over-involvement that may damage their ethnography. Participant observation seems to be a convenient method of fieldwork research for exploring the area of traditional healing that involves people’s intimate problems and beliefs verbalized with reluctance to strangers and outsiders. Patients are reluctant to speak about their sufferings in public. They consider sickness as a weakness they are unwilling to divulge to strangers lest people will “gloat over their misfortunes” (*ytsheffa-w fi hum*). This is a common assumption shared by most of my interviewees. As a participant-observer, I established close relationships with patients and healers alike to the extent that they got rid of their personal shyness and suspicion and trusted me with uncensored and depth accounts. I was also allowed to participate in the routine practices at the shrine with a higher level of trust and acceptance among the setting members.

Participant observation is regarded as the most effective technique in the study of magical practices especially in societies where magical beliefs inform all major aspects of personal, social and political relations and where the rate of illiteracy is very high (Russel-Bernard, 1994; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In Moroccan society, for instance, participant observation fills in the gaps left by the in-depth and open-ended interviews conducted with respondents. As for structured interviews and questionnaires, there is not much use for them in societies where the oral aspect of culture is predominant.

While collecting data on magical practices, the researcher has to observe these practices in reality. The informants’ description is not sufficient. Because of their limited awareness/recognition, they cannot grasp the ritual scenes in their chronological order. They just retain scattered glimpses. Also the informants’ limited worldview cannot help them convey all the details of rituals and magical practices. Therefore, the researcher has to rely on his own observations to describe the rituals, using the informants’ background information as ethnographic data to back up his participant observation findings.

Moreover, the collection of data on magical beliefs seems to be a hard task because the informant does not have the ability to recognize

things in their abstract forms. Most of my informants are unable to convey their conception of *jnun*. They tell stories about jinn existence and doings but cannot define jinn attributes in abstract terms. They practice Islam in its tangible form, so they espouse down-to-earth cultural symbols. The researcher's task, therefore, is to piece together the conception of *jnun* from the informants' stories. By collecting these stories, the researcher can patch up a meaningful image of jinns.

To collect as much relevant data as possible, I have supplemented "participant observation" by other methods. These included various kinds of interviews (unstructured interviews, in-depth interviews, one-to-one interviews and group interviews), document analysis, natural conversations, checklists of orienting questions (phrased in a way that the respondent could talk either about a personal experience or that of an acquaintance), headings for observations, and unobtrusive methods like journeying with trained patients to the shrine and observing the healing routes they were drilled into pursuing. Moreover, the *hufdan* allowed me and Hermans mentioned above to film some of the rituals observed at the shrine. All interviews were conducted in Moroccan Arabic, and most were tape-recorded with the consent of the respondents. Interviews were conducted in private and semi-private locations (e.g., homes, the shrine). Full transcripts were made in Moroccan Arabic of all collected data and were after that translated into English (the working language of analysis).

Furthermore, I entered the maraboutic site by means of personal contacts. The gatekeepers, the *hufdan*, knew quite well my wife's family. Her father was a renowned *shrif* held in high esteem by the *shurfa*. They kept good reminiscences of his pious life and litany (*dikr*) skills. They welcomed me to a big couscous meal and showed intense enthusiasm for my research. They wanted their shrine to be famous. From my very first contact with them, I started selecting the units of analysis purposefully. I realized that the research should be conducted from two major perspectives: the perspective of the healers and that of the jinn possessed patients. Other perspectives like that of the *shurfa* who do not practice healing at the shrine or that of the visitors may be complementary. I had to interview people whom I had never considered like the *mashduds* (patients detained by the saint).⁸ My informants

⁸ At Bouya Omar, detained patients are called *marsuds* (Naamouni, 1995, pp. 153–4). The word evokes the meaning of surveillance. Whereas, the word *mashdud* conveys the meaning of confinement, which is more intensive.

were selected by combining the methods of purposive and snowball sampling, i.e., gathering information by selecting key informants to serve particular purposes of my study. I asked key individuals to name others who would be likely candidates for my research till I built an *exhaustive* sampling frame of the categories of healers (i.e. *ḥuḍḍan*) and detained patients (*mashduds*).

As for other patients, visitors and *shurfa* from Ben Yeffu, they were chosen in a convenience sample. During my regular visits, I talked to whoever visited the shrine either from the *shurfa* or saint-goers who were willing to answer my questions. To remedy the damage my prejudices might inflict on that sample, I conducted interviews around the week so as not to miss people for whom a particular time or day in the week was convenient. For some periods of consecutive days, I observed the activities at the shrine and worked with patients round the clock until I got familiar with the shifts of days, evenings and nights at the shrine. The patients and visitors I have encountered at the shrine for the whole period of research used to come from the following regions: Sidi Bennour, Moulay Bouchaib, l-ʿAwnat, l-Mʿashat, Oulad Frej, Shiadma, Sebt Gzula, Safi, El Jadida and Casablanca. I have observed that from 15 to 20 visitors and from 5 to 10 patients come to the shrine per week. The majority belong to the subaltern groups. Most of them are not schooled. The patients and visitors I have interviewed are either unemployed or work as unskilled laborers, roaming sellers, small farmers, or small dealers. They all seem to squeeze a meager existence.

All in all, the focus in this study has been drawn upon a category that may be termed “the intermediate group”. In Moroccan society, this group is that of young married fathers and mothers whose age varies between 25 and 50 years. They seem to bear magical beliefs in their modern form and their assumptions may be valid for a number of decades. Their opinions seem to be more credible than those of single people, thanks to their marital status. As I have observed in the Buffi social context, single people’s opinions are considered unreliable because these people do not shoulder family responsibilities nor yet have any social obligations.

Generally speaking, my study of jinn eviction as a discursive practice seems to be an investigative project less familiar to scholarship on maraboutism in Morocco. Most scholars, both Moroccan and colonial, have been concerned with the social, political, and religious roles of *zawiyas* in particular historical periods. They have hardly concentrated on the healing practice—particularly the cure of mental sicknesses—

taking place within *zawiyas*. Apart from anthropologists, like R. Brunel (1926), E. Westermarck (1926), E. Dermenghem (1950), V. Crapanzano (1973) and Khadija Naamouni (1995), who have been concerned with the practice of traditional healing in maraboutic shrines—that is with the curative role of *zawiyas* (like Isawa, Gnawa, Hamadsha and Bouya Omar)—needless to mention S. Pandolfo’s work (1997) on mental illness—the rest of scholars have preoccupied themselves with the religious, social, political and economic roles of *zawiyas* in different historical periods (see Boukari, 1989; Drague, 1940; Geertz, 1968; Gellner, 1969; Hajji, 1988; Michaux-Bellaire, 1921; Morsy, 1972).

Brunel (working on Isawa), Westermarck (referring to Gnawa), Dermenghem (giving an elaborate account on “les confréries noires de Sidi Bilal”) and Crapanzano (working on Hamadsha) have considered the practice of *ḥaḍra* as an important element in the maraboutic therapy that may affect the individual physiologically and psychologically. The rhythmic dance of the patient in accordance with specific musical instruments like Gnawa’s tambour (*ganga*) or Isawa’s oboe (*l-ghaiṭa*) is discovered by most of these anthropologists to have a cathartic function. Crapanzano writes that in the *ḥaḍra al-ḥamadshiya* “the patient is given a socially sanctioned opportunity for the ‘stormy discharge’ of emotions rooted in traumatic experiences of the past or in psychic conflicts of the present” (1973, p. 222). The curative value of the *ḥaḍra* is that the patient canalizes the outburst of his hostilities in a socially acceptable form. He dances till his jinni is satisfied. The *ḥaḍra* in this sense is the opposite of jinn eviction (*ṣriʿ*), the trial in which the jinni is sentenced to leave the patient’s body in peace. While the *ḥaḍra* in its diverse socio-cultural forms seeks to establish a bond of communion between the jinni and the patient (see Dermenghem, 1950, p. 263), *ṣriʿ* is a discursive practice during which the jinni establishes a covenant with the protecting saint, binding the jinni to quit the corpse (*khushba*) once for all. Yet both rituals may be assorted as socially accepted channels of emotional outburst with a strong placebo effect.⁹

Ṣriʿ, as I have observed it at Ben Yeffu, or as Naamouni has observed it at Bouya Omar, seems to be a more violent masochistic practice in

⁹ The placebo effect is the positive effect that occurs when a person trusts doctors or medicine to cure him even if he is given no potent medication or no real working substance. Doctors, for instance, may administrate bread pills to their patients under the guise of antibiotics. The idea alone of an effective drug may alleviate the pain (for the placebo effect of magical symbols, see Van Blerkom, 1995, p. 469).

which the patient undergoes a mythic trial called *shra'* that may last for years without respite. The proceeding of *ṣri'* is the decisive schema of power-relations that molds the relationship of the jinni and the patient, the patient and the healer, the patient and the saint, the jinni and the healer and the jinni and the saint. The trial, in other words, determines the patient's destiny, whether at best he is going to be cured once for all or at worst be a *mashdud*, caught by the saint within its vicinity for a lifetime.

Naamouni's study of jinn eviction as it is practiced at Bouya Omar remains the only authoritative privileged anthropological discourse on the issue. No other researcher to the best of my knowledge has dealt with the topic in such a systematic way. The strength of her study lies in her focus on the patients' perspective—to say nothing of her meticulous observations of the rituals and practices taking place at Bouya Omar. Her thesis that *ṣri'* has an effective therapeutic value on possessed patients is based upon her in-depth interviews with them and her observations of the rituals of cure. Yet, her study seems to have neglected other perspectives that could have helped much in the study of this maraboutic practice.

Naamouni does not seem to give much importance to the interference of the healers in the practice of jinn eviction. I traveled to Bouya Omar and tried to observe the proceedings there but did not find much difference between the practices taking place at Ben Yeffu and those at Bouya Omar. The healers play a major role in orienting the patient towards the path of cure. They may retain patients in the shrine and may send others away using various alibis to quote Barthes' term. So, from an anthropological perspective, it is important to compare and contrast both the healers and patients' standpoints to get a clear view of what goes on at the shrine.

Regarding research, Naamouni could not collect verbatim data from the field because she was not allowed to make recordings. She says:

A cette occasion la réticence des intéressés s'étant manifestée vivement, nous n'avons pas pu enregistrer le déroulement et les variables de la crise en question [ṣri']. C'est donc de mémoire que nous allons décrire et reconstruire les différentes péripéties de ce processus, avec, bien entendu, tous les risques d'oublis et d'omissions que cette situation ne peut manquer d'engendrer. (1995, p. 142)

Naamouni, therefore, relies on her memory to describe jinn eviction, though, as she herself says, the process is a dialogue—a verbal exchange. She reminds the reader that language at Bouya Omar gives a double

signification to *ṣri'*: “*Rappelons par ailleurs que le langage de Bouya Omar à propos de possession donne une double signification au ṣri'*” (1995, p. 142). The whole procedure takes place at the level of language. But her study seems to be short of any discursive analysis of any kind. By neglecting the analysis of the discursive dimension of jinn eviction though she has referred to its importance explicitly in her work, Naamouni has missed the ideological implication of the maraboutic practice. Unlike Naamouni, Pandolfo considers the world of possession as a world of discourse. For her, the patient opens an imaginary world “that is at once born from within the illness and removed from it. This world exists only in discourse” (1997, p. 242). Pandolfo’s opinion stems from her fieldwork experience in the Moroccan psychiatric institution with patients narrating their sickness stories, and her Lacanian approach based on the assumption that the unconscious is structured like language.

Generally speaking, jinn eviction is not performed in a contextless vacuum. It is rather performed in a discourse context that is traversed by the ideology of social systems and institutions within which it operates. My study of jinn eviction as a discursive practice approaches the phenomenon with attention to the institutional and social processes of its cultural production, circulation and reception. It searches for the therapeutic value of jinn eviction via its ideological function: how jinn eviction as a discourse and practice may reproduce and maintain the asymmetrical power relations in Moroccan society.

On the whole, this study is divided into four chapters, and contains appendices, a glossary explaining the maraboutic vocabulary cited in the text and some figures illustrating the maraboutic practices at Ben Yeffu. Chapter I presents the reader with a general history of maraboutism and local histories of the saint Ben Yeffu. It sheds light on the segmentary aspect of the Buffi community, on the problems of their lineage and shows that the hierarchical mode of communication is endemic to the Buffis’ social interaction. The legends reiterated at the shrine are also analyzed in detail. They show how the maraboutic discourse operates within the maraboutic institution. Besides, an analysis of the royal decrees is put forward in the chapter to delineate how the politics of *baraka* functions and the process of legitimization works.

Chapter II deals with the Buffis’ representation of the world of jinn. It displays their worldview of the nature and doings of jinns, and shows how the concept of *sihr* is built on the dichotomy of *self* vs. *other*. The *other* is categorized either as a member of the same social milieu, or an invisible being from the world of *jnun* lurking with an evil intent.

Chapter III deals with the practice of jinn eviction and other rituals at the shrine. It shows how jinn eviction as a discursive practice thrusts the healer and the patient/jinni in asymmetrical relations; the healer occupies a dominant position and the patient a subordinate one. The healer uses a number of signs (symbol, myth, image, ritual, etc.) to play out the role of the master and persuade, if not compel, the patient to submit to his power.

Chapter IV explains the functioning of the edifice of authority at Ben Yeffu. It shows how the judicial proceeding takes place at the mythic court in the shrine, how trials are held and the sentence is pronounced. The chapter makes it clear that jinn possessed patients may be either novices or maraboutic adepts. The latter are usually the ones who respond positively to the proceeding of jinn eviction. As for cure, there seems to be no permanency to the cure. The Buffi adepts are sentenced to a yearly calendar of maraboutic and prophylactic measures to immunize themselves against jinn attack or satisfy their jinns if their possession proves to be deep-rooted. The chapter starts with a meticulous description of the design and organization of the shrine—how the design of the shrine may be read as a discourse of power within the maraboutic institution thrusting the healers in the position of judges and “jinns” in the position of culprits—and ends up with a case study of a *mashdud* (a patient caught by the saint), exploring how the cure at Ben Yeffu may push patients to adhere to the Buffi maraboutic order. The case is that of a prayer-leader (*imam*) from ‘Abda who says that the saint has caught him for about 37 years. He is regarded as one of the servants (*khuddam*; sing. *khdim*) of the saint, and he gives himself the illusion of accepting this bond of servitude (*khidma*).

CHAPTER ONE

LOCAL HISTORIES: *SHARIFIANISM* AND POWER

This chapter attempts to piece up the history of the saint from the scattered stories and scarce documents collected at the shrine of Ben Yeffu and provides a succinct historical account of the maraboutic movement in Morocco. It discusses the problems of the saint Ben Yeffu's lineage, and analyzes the founding legends of his sainthood. It unveils the ideological significance of some constituents of the maraboutic discourse—particularly legends—and expounds how the notion of *baraka* is culturally constructed. Also, the analysis of some decrees and of the tales associated with them contributes to clarifying the ideological function of *baraka* in the maraboutic discourse. The analysis makes it obvious that this discourse constructs its own myths of power that function as an opiate to attract saint-goers to the maraboutic distributing centre and make them believe in its miracles.

A. *Historical Origins*

Islam came into Morocco around the seventh century to find a deep-seated tradition of magic and witchcraft well-established in “Barbary”—a standard colonial term for North Africa prior to and after the Islamic conquest. Rather than abolish the rites and practices of local culture and impose the Islamic orthodox tradition, the leaders of Islamisation advocated a tolerant Islam able to contain the pagan aspects of local culture. Thus, when maraboutism came into Morocco with the onset of the Islamic conquests, it was given a boost by the traditional culture at the cost of the orthodox tradition. Converts to Islam, the Berbers, discovered in maraboutism a tangible form of worship capable of forming a homogeneous mixture with their deep-rooted pagan beliefs. Later in Moroccan history, maraboutism became so popular and well established that it threatened legitimate political institutions like the Sultan and the Makhzen—take the example of the Zawiya Dīlā'iya and Zawiya Sharadiya that were destroyed by respective 'Alawite Sultans because they increased in political influence and manifested expectations of political evolution.

Maraboutism is derived from the French word “*marabout*” which is itself derived from the Arabic word “*murabīṭ*.” These are ascetic saintly Moslems who gathered disciples, taught them their beliefs, and trained them as *mujahids* to defend Morocco in the period of Spanish and Portuguese invasions. Their religious lodges were called “*ribāṭs*.” They served as watch-posts in strategic areas (like the coast line of the Atlantic) in the face of potential foreign onslaughts by the Christian enemy (Bouzidi, 2000, pp. 38–9).

With the advent of the Berber dynasty of the Almoravids (1073–1174), maraboutic shrines proliferated all over the country. They taught the precepts of the Malikite school of interpretation in Islamic law and religious sciences. When the Sufi trend drifted from the East, these shrines turned into centers for the teaching and accommodation of the Sufis. Zawiyat Abi al-Husain, for instance, was set up on the ruins of Ribāṭ Igharghar (Bouzidi, 2000, p. 38). Shrines became centers of refuge and protection housing the poor segments of the population that could not afford bread and shelter. Those people ate and slept there in compensation for the practice of some Sufi rituals. *Shaykhs* were also held in veneration and awe for the social role they played. They received alms from the rich and used them in feeding the poor. In moments of economic crisis, marabouts catered for the needs of hungry people. Such altruistic roles of religious leaders ranging from helping Moroccans in situations of need, famine, and epidemics to interceding to the Makhzen to forgive wrongdoers elevated them to higher ranks in society.

Yet, there was a sharp conflict between marabouts and *faqih*s (religious scholars) following the Malikite school of Sunni jurisprudence. The Almoravids, who were strict adherents to that school of law, ever since its appearance in the Maghreb in the ninth century, allowed the *faqih*s to control both the administration of justice by the *qadis* and the work of provincial governors. *Faqih*s acted as counselors to the rulers, and rejected all mystic tendencies flowing from the Middle East by adopting a restricted legalism (see Mahmoud, n.d., pp. 362–74). Out of the religious opposition to the Islam of the Almoravid jurists, there developed the revolutionary movement of the marabouts that led the jurists to issue a *fatwa* (formal decision) to burn al-Ghazali’s books: “when al-Ghazali’s books got into Morocco, the commander-in-chief of Moslems [‘Ali ibn Yusuf (1106–42)] ordered his administrators to burn them, and threatened to shed people’s blood and dispossess them of their wealth if he discovered that they had such books” (al-Murrakushi,

1978, p. 255; author's translation). Suffice it to say that it was a period during which many great Sufis were persecuted. Al-Hasan Saih spoke of Ben Tashafin's negative attitude towards the greatest Sufis of his time like Ibn al-'Arif, Ibn Barjan and al-Mayruqi (1986, p. 189).

The oppression of the Sufis under the Almoravid reign helped the founder of the Almohad movement, Mohammad Ben Tumart, to use the Sufi institution as a channel to preach his dogma. Mohammed Ben Tumart al-Harghi, a Berber belonging to the Masmudah tribe of the High Atlas, was the founder of the Almohad dynasty in Zawiyat Tinmal in 1121 (Micheaux-Bellaire, 2000, p. 6). After he returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1117, he protested in public against reducing Islam to the requirements of one of the four schools of Islamic law, and called for a return to the text (the Qur'an) and the tradition of the Prophet. He also refuted the superficial interpretation of the Qur'an permitted by the Almoravid *faqih*s on the basis that that interpretation might undermine the concept of oneness and uniqueness of Allah (*tawhid*) by misleading people to believe that Allah had human features (Micheaux-Bellaire, 2000, p. 6).

Unlike the Almoravids, however, the Almohads (1130–1276) did not have a clear religious orientation. They rejected the idea of reducing the holy law to one of its established schools, but for practical reasons the Almohad judges based their judgments on the provisions of the already established Maliki school. Moreover, the widespread belief in Ibn Tumart as the promised messianic figure (al-Mahdi al-Muntazar) was slowly being superseded by the spread of Sufism and the reverence of holy Sufis. Sufism had a prominent representative during the Almohad period in the person of Shu'ayb Abu Madyan al-Ghawth (d. 1197). The *fuqaha* of Tlemcen protested to the Sultan Ya'qub al-Mansur about his case. They wrote: "We are concerned about the future of the country since Abu Madyan al-Ghawth begins to resemble al-Mahdi (a promised messianic figure) having followers in every region" (Harakat, 1984, p. 309; author's translation). Next to this Sufi, there appeared other famous Sufi figures like Ibn Harzuhum (Sidi Hrazem), Shu'aib Sanhaji (buried in Azamour), Abu al-'Abbas Sabti and 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish. At the Almohad court, however, the natural sciences and philosophy were taught in addition to religious subjects. The philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës) wrote his famous commentaries on Aristotle when he was at the court of the Almohad Caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf (1163–84).

When the Marinids, under Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (1258–1268), became masters of Morocco, they launched a *jihad* (holy war) in Spain until

the mid-fourteenth century in order to fulfill the duties of Muslim sovereignty and acquire “religious prestige” (al-Manouni, 1996, pp. 14–24). This helped saints to consolidate their doctrines and spread their thoughts. That period was a period of maraboutism *par excellence* since the Marinids were unsuitable to act as custodians of a single religious doctrine and rather allowed religious life to develop freely through the interplay of religious ideas and social forces in relative independence from the State. They cultivated relations of trust and cooperation with the leading religious brotherhoods of the time. The most notorious paths (*turuq*) that flourished in the period were as follows:

- The path of Abu Maḍyan. It developed into two paths: that of al-Mājarīyun (the path of Abu Mohammed Ṣalīḥ) and that of Abu Zakariya al-Ḥaḥī
- The path of Abu al-Hasan Shadili
- The team of Shu‘aybiyun: the disciples of Abu Shu‘aib Ayub Ben S‘id Sanhaji, died in Azamour in 561 A.H./1165 C.E.
- The team of Sanhajiyyun: the disciples of Beni Amghar, *ribāt* Tiṭ. The chief of this team (*ta’ifa*) is Abu Abdellah Mohammed Amghar who died in Tiṭ near Azamour, and who is known as Amghar al-Kabir. He is the son of the *shaykh* Abu Ja‘far Iṣḥāq Ben Ismail. They follow the *tariqa* of al-Junaid. (al-Manouni, 1996, p. 408; author’s translation)

The Marinid epoch witnessed the establishment of the hospitable *zawiya* called *dar ḍiyafa* (House for Guests). It was made to entertain the foreign notables and administrators visiting the Sultanate. During Abu al-Hasan al-Marini’s reign (731 A.H./1330 C.E.–752 A.H./1352 C.E.), the *zawiyas* of the regime underwent radical change. They started accommodating Sufi followers, and schools were set up in their vicinity to teach Qur’anic sciences. The regime also licensed the mortmain (*waqf*) of vast land and their conveyance to *zawiyas*, a factor of historical benefit to their members. Sufi leaders acquired political and economic advantages. In the fourteenth century, *zawiyas*, set up by the regime or by Sufis, became social institutions specialized in disseminating knowledge, inculcating the precepts of Sufism and dispensing charity to the poor (Bouzidi, 2000, p. 40).

Prior to the fifteenth century maraboutism and sharifianism were two largely separate concepts. Marabouts were the pious people who were “tied to God” (*walis; ṣaliḥs*). Gradually, the two concepts fused. From the fifteenth century onward, marabouts based their legitimacy upon patrilineal descent from the prophet. Morocco splintered into a number of small and large polities led by a saint of one sort or another. This maraboutic “epidemic” led to the proliferation of hagiocracies,

Sufi sects, and wandering ascetics (see Bel, 1938; Geertz, 1968). As a consequence, the two dynasties that followed—the Sa‘adis and the Alawites—both claimed their descent from Mohammed. They exploited the predominant ideological framework of sharifianism to establish their legitimacy. They ruled the country on the legitimate basis of having sharifian origins. Morocco, at the time, was the target of *shrifts* who exploited their lineage as a “cover” to gain military, political and economic interests (Bel, 1938). Both the marabout and the sultan shared the legitimacy of holy lineage. They were considered the descendants of the prophet. The sultan was considered by virtue of his lineage to the prophet as “God’s vice-reagent on earth” (*khalifat Allah fi arḍih*). As such he was elevated to the rank of a spiritual leader with “divine grace” (*baraka*). This leads us to open up the concept of the maraboutic institution for more discussion exploring the various strategies used by *zawiyas* to sustain their social, political, and economic advantages and warrant their continuity.

B. *The Maraboutic Institution and its Means of Survival*

The whole process of maraboutism is usually referred to under the rubric of “Sufism.” According to Michaux-Bellaire, the etymology of the term “Sufism” has been amply discussed in Moroccan history. Some thinkers maintain that the use of the term derives from the fact that Sufis wear wool dress (*ṣuf*) as a sign of penitence and worldly renunciation. The coarse wool may be considered a sign of the ascetic discipline the Sufi imposes on himself. Others say that the word derives from “purity” (*ṣafā*) of the soul in that the Sufi escapes from the bondage of the phenomenal self and realizes coalescence with the Divine. Micheaux-Bellaire claims that it is perhaps to the term philosophy that we should attribute Sufism to identify the philosophical endeavors of Moslem thinkers. The word may be derived from *sophy* (*sophia*, *sophos* in Greek) that is wisdom and savvy, meaning that the Arab thinkers have their own philosophy called Sufism and thus they can avoid any clash with the formal precepts of Islam that prohibit the pagan science of Greek philosophy (Micheaux-Bellaire, 2000, p. 7).

The aim of Sufism, according to Crapanzano, is “to realize a union with the Ultimate reality or Godhead (*fana’ fi al-ḥaq*). This union has both a negative and a positive aspect: it involves, on the one hand, an escape from the bondage of the phenomenal self and an absorption or annihilation into the Divine (*fana’*)” (1973, p. 15). According to Sufis,

the path to God consists of a number of stages one must undergo. For instance, one has to repent, to abstain, to live in poverty, to wander, to experience hardships, and to have trust in God. Also, one has to delve into deep meditation that is called (*al-ḥāl*) in Sufism. By experiencing these stages and states, the Sufi attains a higher plane of consciousness called “Gnosis” (*maʿrifā*) and “Truth” (*ḥaqīqa*) in which he realizes that knowledge, knower, and known are one. For the canonist *ʿalim*, the Sufi is a heterodox. But can we not say that this practice is an Islamic philosophy in disguise, especially if we take into account Moslem thinkers like al-Ghazali and al-Junaid who have enriched Sufism with their ideas (Micheaux-Bellaire, 2000, p. 7)?

In this work, the referents of the word “Sufi” are very comprehensive. First, they include the phenomena of the increasingly powerful “orders” (*ṭuruq*), like Shadiliya that may be considered as a revolutionary Sufi path since it has moved from individual to collective and from philosophical to popular forms of practice, and like al-Jazuliya that has deepened Shadiliya in Morocco by adding to it social and political organization. Second, the referents of the word “Sufi” include the more pervasive spread of the multiple forms of popular piety and devotion associated with the role of the saintly “friends of God” (*walis*), marabouts. Prior to the fifteenth century, the word “marabout” was equivalent to the word “Sufi *shaykh*.” The term also referred to the first callers for Islam, who lived in fortified enclosures named *ribāṭs*. By the fifteenth century, the word shifted in meaning to include the *wali* and *ṣalīḥ*. Those were holy people, whose piety (*ṣalāḥ*) brought them nearer to God, and who received *baraka* (blessing) from Him.¹ In Morocco, the tradition of

¹ The concept of *wali* is used in the Qurʾān in the sense of someone who is nearer to Allah because of his devotion. “Remember, there is neither fear nor regret for the friends of Allah. Those who believe and obey Allah, for them is good news in the life of the world and in the life to come. There is no changing of the words of Allah. That will be the great triumph” (*surat*: Yunes [Jonah], *āya*: 62 & 4). There are other Qurʾānic *surats* that refer to the concept of the *wali*: “Your only friends are Allah and His Messenger” (*surat*: al-Maʿidah [the Feast], *āya*: 55)/“Allah is the friend of those who believe while the unbelievers have no friend” (*surat*: Muhammad, *āya*: 11). These *surats* are quoted by some *faqīhs* and *ṭulba* to justify the legitimacy of the custom of visiting saints. But the Prophetic tradition makes it clear that in Islam visiting saints is a form of paganism. It was narrated that the Prophet said: “*allāhuma lā tajʿal qabrī watanan yuʿbad*” [By Your power (Allah) I wish that my tomb would not be turned into an idol to be worshipped] (from *mawḍiʿ* Malik; author’s translation). To go to a saint and use him as a mediator is prohibited in Islam because monotheism requires of Moslems to worship and pray Allah without intercession (Ben ʿAbd l-Wahab, n.d., pp. 308–34). Also, to practice magic and use augury is prohibited because it may

maraboutism states that the *wali* or *ṣaliḥ* have some of the following characteristics:

- Sharifian Origins: Most of Moroccan marabouts claim sacred descent from *ahl al-bait* (the Prophet's family) to elevate themselves to a higher social rank.
- *baraka*: it is a factor complementing the noble origins. The descendent of the Prophet is thought to be able to cure illnesses, bring about rain for the ravenous, and prosperity for the destitute. (Jarid, 2000, pp. 157–66; author's translation)

According to Clifford Geertz, *baraka* is “an exemplary center, it is a conception of the mode in which the divine reaches into the world. Implicit, uncriticized, and far from systematic, it too is a ‘doctrine’” (1968, p. 44). *Baraka* appears as an endowment, a talent or special ability bestowed on particular individuals. As Geertz explains, *baraka* manifests its presence in men like any other natural qualities such as courage, strength, dignity and intelligence. But unlike them, it is a gift bestowed on people in degrees. Some may acquire *baraka* in greater degree than others. Like *mahano* for the Nyoro, and *mana* for the Polynesian, *baraka* for Moroccans is not something that can be measured and weighed; the idea of doing so would be absurd to them. But like *mana* and *mahano*, it is something semi-substantial in that Moroccans speak of it as a real quality inherent in certain beings and things. They think that if it is not inherited, there are recognized means of acquiring it. *Baraka* manifests its presence in material prosperity, physical health, luck, plenitude, and power. It is descriptive of the possession of power and not itself the source of power. It is inextricably related to the belief in saints, the distributing centers of *baraka*. The sign of its existence and the site of its customary operation is the *zawiya*, an institution that calls for a broader definition at this stage.

Generally speaking, the term “*zawiya*” means a corner of a house, room, mosque, or school like the Qarawiyin. It is a space where students sit to study. In broadest terms, a *zawiya* is a sacred place used for religious teachings and practices of worship. It may be a centre of calling for

obfuscate the spirit of monotheism (Ben ‘Abd l-Wahab, n.d., pp. 116–39). That such pagan practices are widespread in observed Islam shows that the masses of believers are unable to understand monotheism in its abstract terms and still depend on animistic and tangible forms of worship—needless to mention here Durkheim's theory (as cited in Jones, 1986, pp. 115–155) that monotheism is the most developed form of worship in the history of religious thought.

“holy” war (*jihad*) against infidel conquerors (e.g. al-Jazuliya). It may also be a political institution in that its leaders may play the role of referees in conflicts among tribes, or between the tribes and the Makhzen in moments of crisis (e.g. the House of Wazzan). Western anthropologists used a lot of terms to refer to the order of *zawiyas*: caste, order, statutory group, and social class (Boubraik, 2001, p. 133). *Zawiyas* were also assorted according to the roles they played in society. Anthropologists spoke of the Berber *zawiya*—an institution promoting the coalescence of the tribes of Sanhaja (Micheaux-Bellaire), the school *zawiya*—an institution teaching Qur’anic sciences, the Sufi-path *zawiya*—an institution teaching a particular Sufi path, and the emirate *zawiya*—an institution with political expectations. Researchers who took their cue from the anthropological theses discarded the educational role of *zawiyas* on the ground that most Berber saints were illiterate. They ranked *zawiyas* as tribal institutions organizing kinship and tribal relations. Abdellah Laroui (2001) looks at this taxonomy with suspicion and maintains that history shows us that the power of *zawiyas* has been regulated by the authority of the Makhzen. For him, when the *zawiya* grows to be a political power, it is backed up by the authority of the Makhzen. The House of Wazzan, for instance, that had supported the state, changed camps with the conquest of Spain in 1859–1860. Abdsalam al-Wazani turned from the deputy of the Sultan before 1860 to an agent used by the French Government. From working for the sultan, and protecting his disciples against the Makhzen, he changed position to become an agent of France that gave him protection. In fact, many Sufi leaders sided with the French colonial regime as they did with the Makhzen before the protectorate. Prior to the nineteenth century, *zawiyas* located in remote areas or evolving during the period when the state was weak (like Ilich) lived with a greater degree of independence. But ever since the nineteenth century, all *zawiyas* with political expectations have been offered the power to exercise influence with the will of the Sultan (cf. Benomar, 1988, p. 545). *Zawiyas* could not grow into politically powerful institutions unless they were “Makhzenied”—converted into Makhzen apparatuses. Those that existed in the periphery—beyond the pale—were generally poor small centers subsisting on charity and no better than small mosques for daily prayers. Their *shaykhs*, were but prayer-leaders (*imams*) (Laroui, 2001, pp. 135–6).

Laroui classifies *zawiyas* on the basis of their roles and revenues. He states that there is the *zawiya* as social centre. People go there to seek refuge and cure, settle quarrels, exchange products, and have entertain-

ment. Such *zawiyas* are simultaneously hotels, hospitals, courts, markets, schools, and show halls. There is the *zawiya* as city club. People go there for respite from work, or to exchange advice and information with other adherents. It seems like a modern café in disguise. There is the *zawiya* as sanctuary. People go there for worship and prayer. It is a center for teaching knowledge and Qur'anic sciences. It may accommodate boarder students (*msharets*) from different regions. It is also a center offering respite and remedy for the exhausted and the sick, alleviating their misfortunes. This is the logical and historical example that has either survived as such or melted into one of the forms mentioned.

There is the *zawiya* as maraboutic state. This is an expanding religious lodge that thrives and becomes more powerful to the extent that it exercises control on neighboring tribes. Its leaders may play the role of Sultans in the regions where their lodges are located. In the past, it exercised political influence in that its leaders either unified people against the authority of the Makhzen/Protectorate regime when the latter exerted oppression on them, or reproduced that authority, when interests concurred. It mediated between tribes or between tribes and the Makhzen/colonial regime, exerting its power during moments of crisis. For instance, as Eickelman maintains, "in political disorders of the fifteenth century and later, the rural population turned increasingly to the religious leaders...to relieve them of oppressive government, repurchase captives held for ransom by Christian invaders" (1976, p. 24). Historical records provide thousands of examples illustrating the idea of the *zawiya* as house of surety offering protection to fugitives. The most famous centre in this respect was that of Abdsalam Ben Mshish who was granted immunity by a decree issued in 1578 and renewed afterwards.

Finally, there is the *zawiya* as Sufi path. It is limited to the kinfolk, servants, disciples, or extended beyond these to include the neighboring tribes (Laroui, 2001, pp. 7–26). If we are to grasp the gist of Laroui's argument, the common denominator is that these *zawiyas* have been at the disposal of the Sultan. As state apparatuses, they have played ideological roles diffusing religiously implicated hegemonic ideologies serving to establish and sustain relations of domination, and thereby reproducing a social order which favours dominant individuals and groups.

Ever since the fifteenth century, *zawiyas* have increased in number, and established branches all over Morocco. The widespread belief in sharifianism and the holy war against Christians, Portugal, Spain and

France, all contributed to the boost of maraboutic institutions. The *zawiyas* descending from Tamgrout, for instance, numbered one hundred and twenty in the nineteenth century (Laroui, 2001, p. 11). In order to remain powerful and survive in a spiritual cauldron full of competing Sufi movements and religious doctrines, these institutions resorted to specific strategies of expediency. One strategy was the meticulous choice of location. *Zawiyas* were not set up in arbitrary locales. The founding *shaykh* used to put all his savvy in his choice. If we take the area of Dra Valley, for instance, in the sixteenth century, *zawiyas* were set up at commercial crossroads and on the roads that linked the area with other commercial areas. Zawiyat Tamgrout was a good case in point. It was built in the middle of Fezwata oasis looking onto three commercial areas, Zagura to the North, Fum Tāqāt to the South, Tizi n-Tafilalt to the East. The location made of the *zawiya* a stopoff on the trade routes connecting the different oases of Dra Valley, between Dra and Tafilat and between Dra and the Sudan country through the southern outlets. The *shaykhs* of the *zawiya* used to purvey the caravans halting by the place with all provisions, respite and security they needed (Bouzidi, 2000, p. 45).

Another strategy used by *zawiyas* to insure their survival was the meticulous choice of successors. The founding *shaykh* had to sift his followers and tribal descendents to appoint a successor who could dexterously manage the affairs of the *zawiya* after him. He had to look for a *shaykh* who was capable of converting many followers, teaching adequately the precepts of the *ṭariqa*, and increasing the capital of the institution. Tamgrout again was the best example since it had survived for about two centuries. Ever since its construction, the *zawiya* relied on individual competence to run its affairs, and offered equal opportunities for its members till the arrival of the Nasiris who altered “leadership” (*mashyakha*) to inheritance (Bouzidi, 2000, pp. 45–6).

Another strategy used by *zawiyas* to secure their survival was the spread of hope among their followers. The majority of Sufi *shaykhs* had sharp intelligence and intuition that helped them “predict” the future. They were charismatic personalities and gave the impression to be altruistic, self-annihilating, and impervious to egoism, individualism, and arrogance. They exploited their sanctity to maintain popular support, and make their secret powers legitimate within the pre-existing religious framework of sainthood. Suffice it to say that they embodied the neo-Platonic conception of the perfect man as it was represented in the popular mind. Their speeches sparkled with hope. As Bouzidi indicates,

The third *shaykh* of Tamgrout, Mohammed Ben Naser says that his *shaykh* Sidi Ahmed Ben Brahim says that when the *shaykh* Sidi Abdellah Ben Hsain al-Qabbab was appointed by Allah to govern the hearts of people, he said: “he whom we stamp with our *baraka* will be safe from any harm and “we will intercede” (*nashfa‘u*) in favor of he who loves us for the sake of Allah.” The *shaykhs* of Zawiyat Tinmislā said similar statements: “If you visit the shrine of Abu al-Qasim, your sins will be cleansed. If death comes to you on the day of your visit, you will die a martyr.” Also, Abu al-Qasem was believed to have said: “I swear that he who says,—I’m Abi al-Qasem’s friend—will never get into hell.” (2000, pp. 47–8; author’s translation)

The spread of hope was also reinforced by *al-mahdawiya* that acquired a mythic touch with the rise of the Sufi movement in Morocco. *Al-mahdawiya* is a perennial belief in the Islamic world. It is well known among the Moslems that at the end of the world a descendent of the Prophet will appear and redeem the earth. He is called al-Mahdi, and Moslems will follow him. To spread hope among their followers, some Sufis exploited this belief and claimed that they were the expected redeemers. Thus they endeavored to alleviate people’s misery and gave them hope about the future. A relevant example in this case was the *shaykh* al-Jazuli who said about himself: “You are al-Mahdi! He who wants to attain happiness should come to you” (qtd. in Jarid, 2000, p. 160)!

Back to the strategies of survival, this time we tackle the issue of revenues. Here we may encounter some examples illustrating how *zawiyas* made profit to preserve their powerful social status. According to A. Shadili (1989), Sufis drew upon the concepts of “dependence” (*tawakkul*) and “cause” (*sabab*) to earn their daily bread. “Dependence” meant for them to have trust in God to facilitate their sustenance. “Cause”—in the sense of taking the initiative—that might bring about provisions was not deemed important though Sufis permitted work for their members so far as this could allow them to provide for their families. Still, work was not important in their opinion. It should not drive the Sufi away from his prayers. But in fact, the Sufis’ preaching did not consort with their practice. In 10th and 16th centuries, a number of Sufis worked as fellahs, tailors and merchants to provide for themselves and their families (Shadili, 1989, pp. 196–7).

Moreover, Sufis did not rely only on their own individual work but also on the collective revenues of the *zawiyas* to which they belonged. *Zawiyas* lived on revenues such as “gifts” (*hadiyas*), “tributes” (*zyaras*), “donations” (*hibas*), and were exempted from taxes. Shadili gives some examples of the gifts some *zawiyas* received in the past. I quote one

example to give the reader an idea about how gifts might have contributed into the accumulation of wealth for particular *zawiyas*. The *sharif* Mulay Ali al-Wazzani used to receive gifts from different parts of Morocco and beyond. He used to receive *henna* and dates from visitors from Tafilalt, male and female slaves from visitors from the Sahara, fabric and mules from visitors from the Orient, iron equipments from mountaineers and olive crops from visitors from Demnat—needless to mention here the gold (from 10 to 500 drachmas) and money he received from his followers (1989, pp. 198–9).

As for *zyara*, it was the gift individuals or tribes offered to the *zawiya* to which they were affiliated. But it was compulsory in that the tradition decreed it. It was socially inconvenient for someone to refuse to give his due annual tribute to the *zawiya* to which he was closely related. *Zyara* was usually associated with supplication. Individuals and tribes took their *zyara* to a particular *zawiya* in the hope that its saint would endow them with his *baraka* by either chasing away a sickness, or malediction, evoking rain, or solving any other social problem. In the past, *zyara* took an institutional form in some regions. That led to the organization of *moussems* during which the tribes brought their *zyaras* to the *zawiya* to which they were supposed to pay their annual tribute. Sometimes it was the *muqaddem* of the *zawiya* who toured the tribes and collected the *zyara* by pressure. He forcefully urged people to pay the “pilgrimage duty” (*haq zyara*) to the extent that some of the tribesmen had recourse to borrowing in order to give it. Some fled from the tribe to avoid the “shame” (*al-‘ar*) they might suffer if they could not afford the tribute. *Zyara*, in fact, became one of the established revenues of *zawiyas* and took the form of taxation that the Makhzen sometimes intervened to impose on tribes (Shadili, 1989, pp. 202–3). Respondents say that up to now, there are regions in Doukkala, where the *shurfa* tour tribes to collect the *zyara*. In the tribe of Oulad Trya in al-Arb’a dya Mugres, for instance, the *shurfa* from Oulad Bu’bid Sharqi tour the tribe twice a year (during the harvest of maize and the harvest of wheat) and collect the *zyara* from each household, sometimes forcefully. They may curse and insult those who refuse to give them the right of *zyara*.

Furthermore, *zawiyas* increased their capital through the “donations” (*in‘am/hibas*) they received from Sultans in the form of “mortmain land” (*al-waqf*). The Zawiya Nasirya, for instance, benefited from mortmain land, mortmain slaves and houses (Shadili, 1989, p. 206). Also, there were *zawiyas* that benefited from “charity” (*sadaqat*) and “alms” (*zakawat*) given to them by the nearby tribes. In the long run, powerful *zawiyas* acquired land and launched commercial investment. Their *shaykhs*

invested in the *zawiya*'s capital to grow its income like the example of Igh, Tamgrout and Wazzan. That material propensity also pushed some *zawiyas* to choose *muqaddems* on the basis of their experience in commercial transactions rather than on the basis of their religious knowledge (Laroui, 2001, p. 18).

Another way *zawiyas* gained more land was via giving protection to the helpless peasants who were overwhelmed by the heavy taxation of the Makhzen. Those who wanted to flee military call-up, those who escaped from the *qaid*'s oppression, and those who were unable to work—all sought the protection of saints and offered their land to the *shurfa* in return for being sheltered, fed and protected for life. *Zawiyas* also benefited from volunteers who zealously offered their unpaid labor in the fields, and by giving harvest tributes to the *seigneur* (Halim, 2000). The Makhzen was aware of those conditions, if not constructed them, to push people to escape to saints and work, that is, to organize the masses of peasants into an unpaid workforce (Laroui, 2001, p. 19). The mortmain land (*al-waqf*) increased and decreased with the will of the Makhzen. The richness and powerfulness of *zawiyas* could only be measured by the rate of their compliance to the demands of the Sultan.

What was the result of this avid accumulation of wealth? *Zawiyas* offered charity to the poor, to boarders (*msharfin*), servants (*khuddam*) and slaves (*ʿabid*). Thus, *zawiyas* worked to polish their image in society, and increase their scope of influence. Commercial investment engaged their members completely, and turned some *hufdan* to businessmen sometimes oblivious of the spiritual *baraka* of their ancestors. Because of their avidity for wealth, marabouts, Sufis and *shaykhs* were like sultans; power seekers in disguise. The only difference, as Laroui says, was that the power of the *zawiya* went virtually unnoticed. People voluntarily offered themselves and their property to the saint out of a religious zest escaping the blatant oppression of the administrators of the Makhzen. Yet, they were unaware that the Makhzen contained the *zawiya* itself and benefited from its revenues (2001, p. 19).

To conclude, from the Marinids in the thirteenth century to the establishment of the ʿAlawite dynasty in the seventeenth century, maraboutism had played a dominant role in Moroccan social and political history. The anarchical conditions of the tribes, the oppression of the Makhzen, the colonial invasions—needless to mention famines and epidemics—all served as a spur to the reproduction of maraboutism and its diffusion among the urban and rural populations. Suffering and misfortune pushed Moroccans to resort to a metaphysical world of *baraka*

and saints to seek refuge and remedy. That daily practice has evolved into *ṭariqas*, into rituals of “ecstasy and delirium” (*jedbas/ḥaḍras*),² and finally into a large segment of maraboutic clientele adhering to saints up to the present.

Yet, the question that looms up is whether beliefs and rituals associated with maraboutism are still maintained up to the present despite the social change in Morocco. Does maraboutism still constitute a response to the question of religion and power in Morocco? Perhaps, as a tangible form of religion, it sustains the paradigm of domination and submission, and saddles the average Moroccans—particularly the subaltern groups—with a fixed religious understanding, which may be compatible with the hegemonic ideology. The following case-study of Ben Yeffu is intended to construct a base for understanding such issues.

The saint under study, ‘Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu, is a historical continuity of this maraboutic paradigm delineated above. The practices taking place at his shrine account for the shape and scope of contemporary ideological “survivals” of the past structures of domination that are slowly being resisted in Morocco. His shrine is a living pilgrimage center attracting a large segment of followers from the rural and urban populations. His clientele go there to enact their suffering and seek explanations to their regular frustrations and misfortunes. Before dealing with how these frustrations are staged at the shrine, let us first shed light on the historical identity of the saint Ben Yeffu.

C. *The Location of the Saint*

It seems that the tradition of saints is well-established in Morocco. Doukkala is one of the middle regions where marabouts continue to be as strong as ever, even when confronted with modernization. The reason behind this, as we will see later, like the rest of Moroccans, the maraboutic tradition offers the average Doukkali (a person from Doukkala) a tangible form of religious belief. In this region, saints have settled everywhere and for different purposes. But not all saints have been *mujahids* (holy warriors). During the Islamic conquest, some saints came to Doukkala to Islamise the pagan early inhabitants of the

² See the description of the origins and practices of the *ḥaḍra al-ḡnawīya (derdba)* by Dermenghem (1950) and Westermarck (1926). See also the description of the *ḥaḍra al-‘isawīya* by Brunel (1926, as cited in Dermenghem, 1950) and by Dermenghem (1950). See also the description of the *ḥaḍra al-ḥamadshīya* by Crapanzano (1973).

region. Others settled in the region to help the population cultivate the land by using their *baraka* in evoking rain or bursting out springs. Saints proliferated everywhere, especially in barren areas that suffered from drought. Some saints specialized in digging wells miraculously. As for areas where water was available, saints specialized in realizing other miracles like curing epidemics or evoking magical retribution on wrongdoers. It seemed that saintly *baraka* differed from one region to another in keeping with the clientele's needs in each region. Ben Yeffu, the saint under study, may be classified as part of the category of saints with the endowment of unearthing water miraculously. Thanks to this *baraka* that he settled in al-Gharbiya. The popular tradition states that it was he who burst out the spring, 'Ain al-Ghur, in the region (see map I).

Where has this saint exactly established his territory? His shrine is located near an ancient city the ruins of which still exist; it is called al-Gharbiya 37 kilomètres to the East from Cap Cantin and 20 kilomètres to the South East from the Qaşba of al-Oualidiya (see Micheaux-Bellaire, 1932, p. 56). The shrine is set up on the boundaries between the regions of 'Abda and Doukkala, 25 kilometers to the South East from the Qaşba.

Michaux-Bellaire claims "La zaouia des Oulad ben Iffou se trouve à la limite de la tribu des Oulad 'Amor et des 'Abda " (1932, pp. 132–33). True, the oral tradition states that Ben Yeffu settled in a *duwar* that used to be called Samlala situated between the tribe of Oulad 'Amor and the frontiers of 'Abda. The ex-inhabitants left the *duwar* on account of the charismatic power of the saint (see the founding legend). They agreed to deliver him the land in front of two *duls* from Duwar Ḥanawa (five kilometres from the *zawiya*). The *qadi* who witnessed the deed of sale was Sidi Mohammed al-Byad buried in Duwar al-Zrag.³ The land delivered to the saint lay within the following frontiers:

- The southern boundaries (*yaminan*): Daya al-Bayḍa, about five kilometres from the *zawiya*.
- The northern boundaries (*shamalan*): Bir al-Kshir near Duwar Dhahja Saḥel, about six kilometres from the *zawiya*.
- The eastern boundaries (*qiblitan*): *ṭariq* Safi (the road to Safi) in front

³ Some stories state that al-Fṭayṭat left him the land in charity and went away. Other stories state that they sold him the land. But the oral tradition emphasizes the fact that the saint and his brother cursed Samlala/al-Fṭayṭat with diaspora. They were uprooted from the place and only two "tents" (*khaymas*) remain today. They live together with the Buffis but they never increase in number.

- of Duwar Mohammed Ben ‘Abdsalam, about four kilometres from the *zawiya*.
- The western boundaries (*baḥran*): *ṭariq* al-Baqran in front of Zawayat Mohammed al-Ma‘ṭi buried in ‘Abda Saḥel, about seven kilometres from the *zawiya*.

On this land with these frontiers, Sidi ‘Abdelaziz established his *zawiya* that came to be known under the name of Ben Yeffu (see map I).

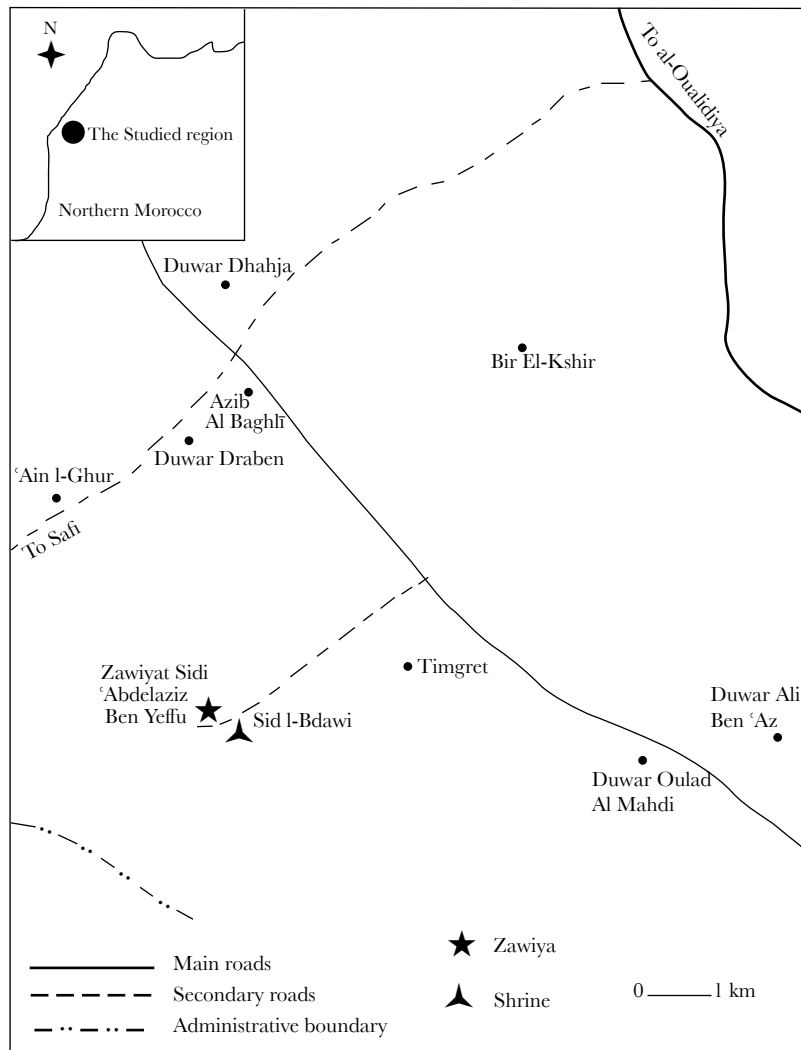
D. *The Saint’s Lineage*

Unfortunately, the hagiographic tradition has not given much importance to the saints in Doukkala. Hardly any written biographies are available aside from local oral accounts. The saints’ shrines and folk memory represent the only proofs of their existence. This has rendered the task of locating the saint Ben Yeffu in a particular historical period very difficult indeed. Some hand-written documents available at the shrine and some decrees preserved by the *ex-mezwar*’s family are the sole written biographies. Even the oral traditions about the saint’s life are scarce, save for some legends like that of the Sultan I-Kḥal that may locate the saint in the Marinid age. Also, the conditions of the *zawiya* during the epoch between the Marinid reign and the ‘Alawite’s are thrust in oblivion.

In a manuscript⁴ that dates back to 1974, it is written that the *shaykh* Sidi ‘Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu was born in Dra Valley in the Sahara in the middle of the eighth century. His father was called Ahmed Abu Llait (the word means “lion,” the symbol of strength and power). The saint was Ibrahim Sidi Ahmed’s disciple; the latter followed the teachings of al-Ghazali.

The *shaykh* is Sidi ‘Abdelaziz Ben Ahmed Ben Mohammed Ben ‘Abdelwahed Ben ‘Abdelkarim Ben Mohammed *Ben ‘Abdelaziz? Ben Youssef?* Ben ‘Abdsalam Ben Mshish Ben Abi Bakr, Ben ‘Ali Ben Hurma Ben ‘Isa Ben Sliman Ben Mazwar Ben Ḥaidara Ben Mohammed Ben Idriss al-Azhar Ben Idriss al-Akbar Ben ‘Abdallah al-Kamel Ben Hasan al-Muthanna Ben Hasan Ṣabṭi Ben ‘Ali Ben Abi Talib and Fatimazahra, the daughter of the Prophet (see the genealogy tree below).

⁴ The manuscript was copied down from Abu L-lait’s *jafriya nabawiya* (prophetic rhythmic verses) by Jilali Ben ‘Abd al-Qader Sahli in 1974. Another copy was written by Mohammed Ben al-Haj Miloud al-Farabi on 30 September 1971.



Map 1. Location of Ben Yeffu

The Saints' Descent**Mulay 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish***Sidi Youssef?**Sidi 'Abdelaziz?*

Sidi Mohammed

Sidi 'Abdelkarim

Sidi 'Abdelwahed

Sidi Mohammed

shaykh al-Kāmil Ahmed Abu Llait
(buried in Timazert, Marrakech)Sidi 'Abderahman
(born around 755 A.H./1354 C.E.)Sidi Ghannam
(born around 758 A.H./1356 C.E.)**Sidi 'Abdelaziz**
(around 760/1358–811 A.H./1408 C.E.)**Sidi 'ALi**
(born around 762 A.H./1360 C.E.)

Sidi Hilal

Sidi 'Abderahman
(died around 911 A.H./1505 C.E.
buried on the borders of Um Rabi'.
His Descendents are called Ghnnama dwelling in al-Mars al-Hmar in Doukkala).Sidi Ahmed
(buried in 'Ain l-Mas in Ait Assi)Sidi Brahim
(buried in Tiṭ area)

Sidi 'Abdallah

Sidi 'ALi

Sidi Youssef (nicknamed Rab al-Ghar/Bi Bab Aghmat)

Sidi Mansur
(His Descendents exist in Souk Ḥamza
in Qal'at Ṣraghna)

Sidi Mohammed (buried in the Sahara)

Sidi Ahmed (Rgibi)? (buried in Saqiya al-Hamra in
The Sahara and has some kinfolk in Black Doukkala, named Rgibat)

Sidi 'ALi

Sidi Mansur

Sidi 'Amer

Sidi Brahim

Sidi Mohammed

Sidi Brahim

Sidi Ahmed al-Ṣfar (Buried in 'Abda)

Fig. 1

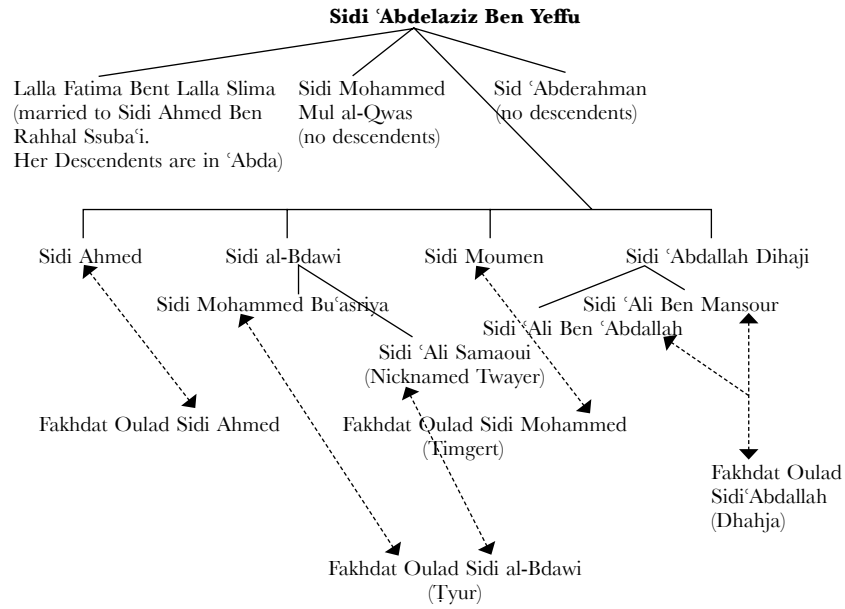


Fig. 2

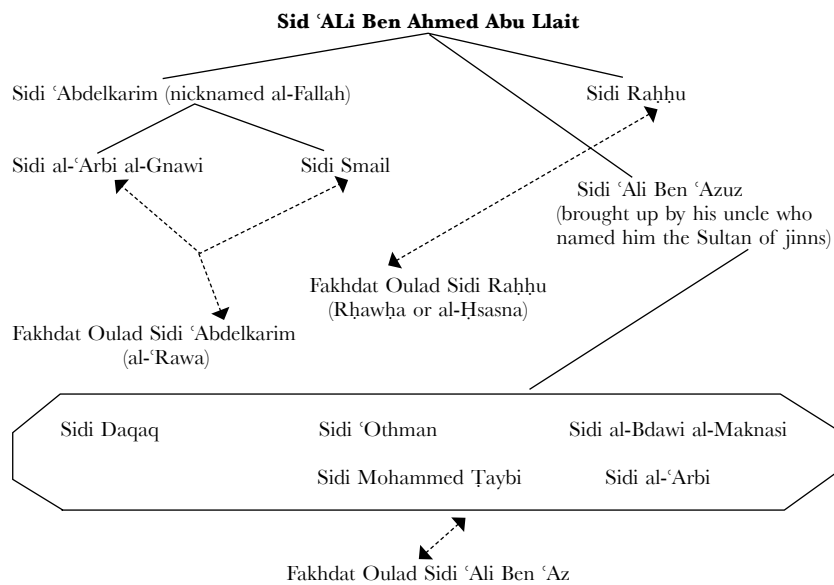


Fig. 3

The saint's descent is very hard to confirm historically since there are no written clues to the existence of Ahmed Abu Llait or his father Mohammed. There is no written biography of either. All we have is a scanty oral tradition. The first problem with Ben Yeffu's genealogy is the existence of two names that do not figure in 'Abdsalam Ben Mshihsh's genealogy. According to written historical records, 'Abdsalam left four sons: Abu 'Abdallah Sidi Mohammed, Abu al-Hasan Mulay 'Ali, Sidi 'Abdsamad, and Abu al-'Abas Mulay Ahmed. Most children descended from Sidi Mohammed. The latter left his son 'Abdelkarim, and 'Abdelkarim left two sons, Sidi 'Abdelwahed and Sidi 'Abdelwahab. Thus evolved the progeny of 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish (Shbani, 1987, p. 127). So, *Abdelaziz* and *Youssef* in the saint's genealogy tree above do not exist. They should be omitted so that Mohammed is linked directly to 'Abdsalam because he is his son.

The second problem is Ahmed Abu Llait, Ben Yeffu's father. Who is he? Historically, there is an Ahmed Llait Rgibi, the grandson of Ahmed Rgibi, the founder of Rgibat in the Sahara (El Ouaret, 2000). Is there any blood relationship between Oulad Ben Yeffu and Rgibat in the Sahara? Is the word "Llait" a matter of coincidence? The oral tradition is very scanty in this respect. Rgibat belong to the 'Alami lineage since they are the progeny of 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish. The following family tree shows the concatenation of their lineage:

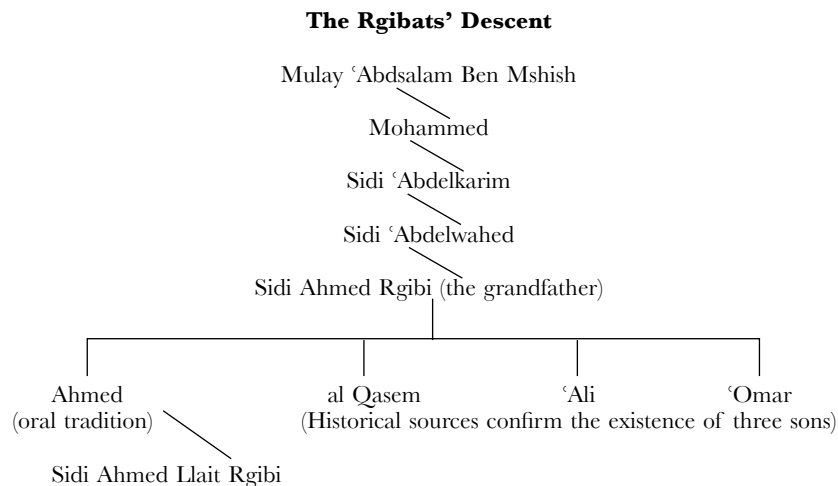


Fig. 4

The descendents of Ahmed Llait Rgibi claim that Ahmed Rgibi, the grandfather, left a son called Ahmed, who gave birth to their forefather, Ahmed Llait Rgibi. They do not know much about the second Ahmed. According to El-Ouaret (2000), some claim Ahmed—the father—lived in oblivion because he was not as reputed as his own father. The hypothesis to put forth here is as follows: this Ahmed may be Ahmed Abu Llait, Ben Yeffu's father, who journeyed to Marrakech, and that was perhaps why the inhabitants of the Sahara did not know anything about him. Perhaps, he had other sons than Llait Rgibi. Rgibat would never accept this thesis. They are firm on the idea that the second Ahmed left only one son. Yet, there are some clues that prove the hypothesis above.

First, the Buffis' manuscript mentions Ahmed Rgibi, though we do not know whether it is the grandfather, the father or the son. From his position in Ben Yeffu's tree diagram above, it seems that he is the third Ahmed who lived during the Sa'adi dynasty, though this position in the tree diagram is not historically adequate. Second, Ben Yeffu is said to come from Saqyia al-Hamra, which is Rgibat's native region. Third, there is a similarity in nomenclature. Ahmed Abu Llait (Ben Yeffu) vs. Ahmed Llait (Rgibat). Fourth they belong to the same lineage. They are 'Alamis, descendents of 'Abdelwahed Ben 'Abdelkarim Ben Mohamed Ben 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish. Fifth, Ahmed Rgibi, the grandfather/Father and Ben Yeffu lived in the same historical period, the Marinid age.⁵

Some historians assume that the Mshishis journeyed to the Sahara after the defeat of the Moslems in al 'Uqab war in 1212.⁶ After the war, 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish withdrew to the Mountain al-'Alam in the North and devoted himself to prayer and worship; whereas his sons wandered

⁵ Kably states that the Marinids, especially Abu Inan (also nicknamed Sultan l-Khal), had friendly relations with the tribes of Doukkala, and that Abu Inan re-built al-Gharbiya, Ben Yeffu' region. If we compare this claim with what people say about Ben Yeffu (that he met the Sultan l-Khal), we may conclude that Ben Yeffu lived during the Marinid age and met one of the Marinid Sultans. "*Sans en avoir positivement la preuve, il y aurait lieu de considérer qu'Abu Inan, étant donnée l'importance qu'il accorda à la province de Doukkala, avait du respecter les engagements traditionnels vis-à-vis des Sanhaga Banu Amghar. Outre la reconstruction par ce Sultan d'Al-Madina-l-Garbiya (El-Médine)*" (Kably, 1986, p. 300).

⁶ The battle of al-'Uqab (July 16, 1212) is a major battle of the Christian reconquest of Spain in which the Almohads were severely defeated by the combined armies of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. The extensive effects of the Muslim defeat was the gradual disintegration of the Almohad empire (Boulqtiq, 2002, pp. 34–5/90–1/109–10).

all over the country calling for Sufism and *jihad*. This assumption may be enhanced by the fact that the Mshishis' movement coincided with that of the Marinid that supported Sufism and searched for the Sufis' alliance to defeat the Almohad dynasty (El-Ouaret, 2001, pp. 72–77). So, it is very probable that 'Abdelwahed or his father journeyed with the Marinid Sultans to the Sahara in order to help the Marinid unification movement. As great *shurfa*, al-'Alamis would give legitimacy to that movement and thus more and more followers would join it.

So, the Mshishis might have settled in the Sahara and left descendants there. One of those descendants might have been Sidi Ahmed Rgibi, the grandfather. Al-Mukhtar Susi located Rgibi in the first half of the eighth century Hegira. He narrated the story of his encounter with the Sultan l-Kḥal. He wrote:

All what we know is what Oulad Rgibat say. Sidi Ahmed Rgibi lived in the middle of the Marinid age. He lived at the same time as the Sultan l-Kḥal. Some tribes that were called Takna were highwaymen between Fez and Marrakech. The Sultan attacked them but they fled to the Sahara. They came to the region where Ahmed Rgibi just bought some vast land. The Sultan was following their trail when he met Ahmed Rgibi. The latter negotiated with the Sultan that the tribes might live with him on his land under his control in return for money given to the Sultan. The Sultan accepted the money and abandoned the chase. The Takna tribes lived in the region as "servants" (*khuddam*) to Oulad Rgibi. If all this is true, Rgibi lived in the first half of the eighth century Hegira because the Sultan Abu al-Hasan al-Marini (nicknamed Sultan l-Kḥal) reigned from 731 A.H./1330 C.E. to 749 A.H./1348 C.E. (vol. 12, p. 88; author's translation)

If this is accurate, Ben Yeffu, therefore, may be the son of the second Ahmed since according to the manuscript the descendants have, the saint lived in the second half of the eighth Hegira century and died in 811 A.H./1408 C.E. Still, the problem persists for the oral tradition says that Ben Yeffu met the Sultan l-Kḥal in a challenging confrontation. Is this Sultan other than Abu al-Hasan? Is he Abu 'Inan (from 749 A.H./1348 C.E. to 759 A.H./1357 C.E.)? Is he another Marinid Sultan, especially if we know that the expression Sultan l-Kḥal has been attributed to many Sultans in the history of Morocco?

So, there may be two possible scenarios of the lineage of Rgibat and Oulad Ben Yeffu. Either Ahmed Llait Rgibi and Ben Yeffu share the same father or 'Abdelwahed is the only common forefather. The first hypothetical family tree may be charted as follows:

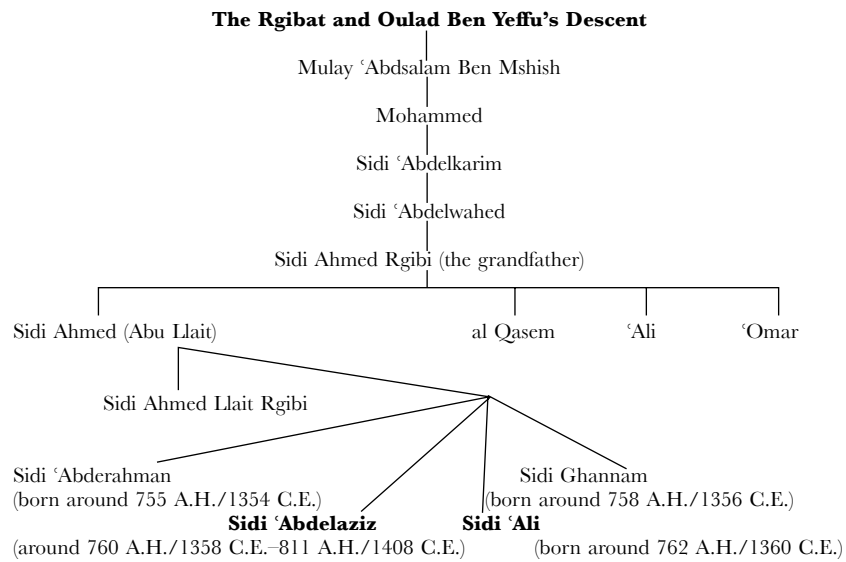


Fig. 5

The second hypothetical family tree maybe charted as follows:

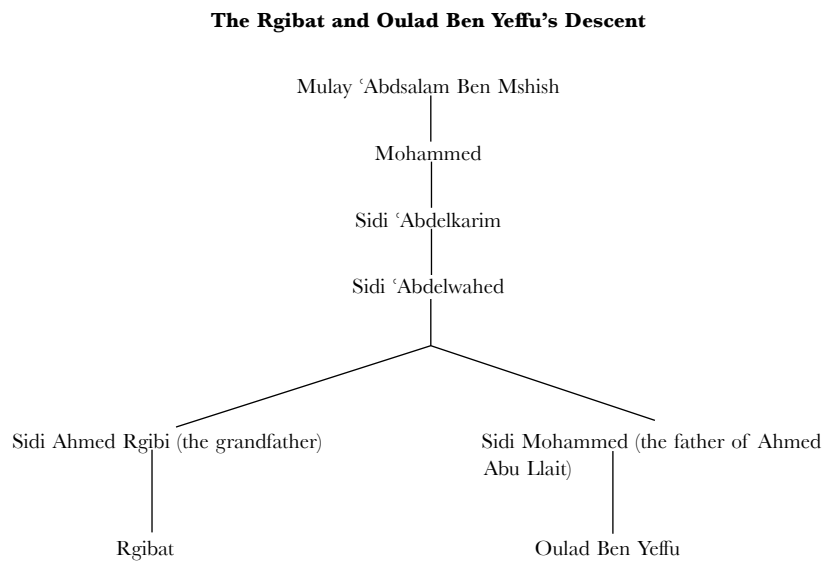


Fig. 6

Historically speaking, the second hypothetical lineage tree is the most probable. ‘Abdelwahed might have left two sons, one called Sidi Ahmed Rgibi (the grandfather) from whom the Rgibat descended, and another called Sidi Mohammed from whom Oulad Ben Yeffu descended. In short, both Rgibat and Oulad Ben Yeffu are *shurfa*; they descend from the ‘Alami lineage.

Within the Buffi community there are muttered complaints going that not all the Buffis are pure *shurfa*. For instance, there are kinfolds who are believed to be alien to the ‘Alami lineage. My purpose to broach this topic is not to cast doubt on the sharifian descent of Buffi families; rather, I want to demonstrate how the quest for power operates within the social context of Ben Yeffu. This topic may shed light on how the Buffis perceive the question of the saint’s leadership and *baraka*.

There are whispers of a tale that the ex-*mezwar*’s grandfather Sidi Bu’li did not originate in al-Gharbiya. It could be noted, as I said in the introduction (footnote: 7), that the whole family would be assigned fictitious names all the way through after I have promised my informants to speak openly about their experience with the family with a strict protection of its members’ identities. Sidi Bu’li is said to have come from Duwar Oulad Griṭ in Rḥamna and has no kinship with Oulad Ben Yeffu (see section *In’am* for a full treatment of the issue). There are some *shurfa* from notable Buffi families who also insist that this renowned family does not have any perennial origins in al-Gharbiya. For this reason, they contest the family’s prerogative to manage the shrine’s affairs. Some even consider its period of shrine management as unfair and unlawful. The last *muqaddem* from the family was Sidi Yaḥya who withdrew from his position around 1995 after a long conflict with the *hufḍan* that culminated in courts.

Paradoxically enough, Sidi Yaḥya’s family was, and still is, a powerful family in al-Gharbiya, and his ancestors were invested as *shurfa* in royal decrees by the Sultans (see Appendix I). The grandfather had strong connections with the Sultan al-Hasan I (around 1300 A.H./1882 C.E.). He was appointed as an *amin* (supervisor), collected *al-khary* (taxes) in the Gharbiya region, and sent it to the Sultan. There are a lot of stories narrated by the Buffis about the *baraka* of Sidi Yaḥya’s ancestor. They believe he was a saint. Does it mean that his power has procured him the legends he needs to elevate himself to a status of saintliness (see section *In’am*)? A notable *sharif* who is at present struggling for a position of power at the shrine told me: “like Sidi Yaḥya’s family, like Oulad Sbaita from al-Gharbiya; they would say that they are Oulad

Ben Yeffu if they travel outside the region and may even practice *shub* (traditional therapy), knowing that Oulad Sbaïta do not belong to the Buffi lineage.” This comparison shows that many neighbouring tribes claim their lineage to Ben Yeffu once they are far from the vicinity of the shrine.

Why do some Buffi descendents contest each other’s lineage? To answer this question, let us cast a glance over the cultural significance of *sharifianism* in Moroccan culture. Hammoudi states that “social status [in Moroccan society] is based on criteria the subject cannot change: lineage, colour and religion” (2000, p. 86). By virtue of their lineage, the *shurfa* are located at the top of the social scale. Their sharifian lineage bestows on them the right to rule, to have prerogatives and to own *khuddam* (servants). This is an inherited social standing that is very difficult to change. A person may acquire power by virtue of the capital of wealth and knowledge he owns, but if he adds to this a sharifian lineage, he becomes one of the notables par excellence (Hammoudi, 2000, p. 86). So, *sharifianism* is an ideological construction that establishes and sustains asymmetrical relations between dominant notables and subordinate low-born commoners.

The conflict among the Buffis is the contest for power. Who should run the shrine’s affairs after Sidi Yahya’s withdrawal? The leader, the *muqaddem*, normally has a sphere of influence on the *hufdan*, strong connections with the authorities, and the privilege of managing the revenues of the shrine. This is why up to now the dispute still goes on about who should occupy this prestigious position. As one may notice, the *baraka* of the saint is regulated by relations of dominance. The yearn for money and power seems to instigate most of the conflicts among the *hufdan*.

These conflicts are fuelled by the Buffi tribes’ perennial segmentation.⁷ Segmentation is an elaboration on the notion of blood relations that occur through the patriline. It is epitomized in the following Arabic

⁷ Segmentation is recognized by a number of anthropologists—Gellner’s name looms large here—as a “mechanism for the organization of political tasks” in areas where central government is weak: the waging of feuds, settlement of quarrels, the distribution of water and land. Another camp of anthropologists—like Geertz and Eickelman—contends that Moroccans construct dyadic ties on the basis of friendship, kinship, and physical proximity. So kinship is not the only essential tool of socio-cultural analysis (see Combs-Schilling, 1985, pp. 660–64). True, the Buffis, for instance, do not solely rely on biological relations but shift between a constellation of dyadic ties investing in kinship, friendship, and healing.

saying: “I against my brothers, my brothers and I against my cousins, my cousins, my brothers and I against strangers.” In the same way, though the Buffis claim their origins to the same ancestral line, they identify each other by their close ancestors (e.g.: Oulad Sidi ‘Ali, Oulad Sidi Ahmed, Oulad Sidi ‘Abdelkarim, etc.). They narrate tales from ancient times about the tribes’ betrayal, which shows how the state of segmentation is reproduced.⁸ An informant says:

Once upon a time Sidi ‘Abdelaziz invited the *fakhdas* (descendent lineages) to come to his palace early in the morning. He decided to bestow on them his *baraka* and give them his *kalkha* called the sword of jinns to exorcise spirits. Dhahja and Ṭyur agreed to depart from the same location and at the same time. On the departure day, Dhahja never informed the Ṭyur it was time to get up to start the travel. Ṭyur got up late but travelled very fast folding over the land, and arrived even before Dhahja. So, Sidi ‘Abdelaziz who took cognisance of the fact named the tribe that failed to help: Dhahja (schemers) and the other tribe Ṭyur (birds) because they were so fast, but he divided his *baraka* on them equally.

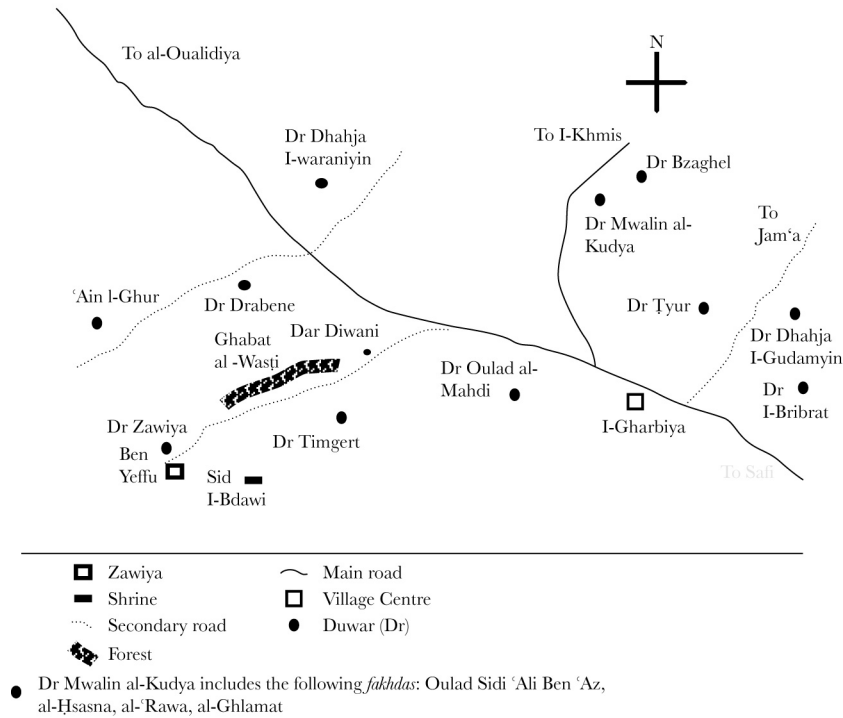
The story gives us an idea about how the Buffi community perceives segmentation. The Buffis pay allegiance to their sub-groups but in case of a threat from without they evoke their distant ancestors and unite against this threat. To use Gellner’s terms, “[the Buffis] simultaneously keep each other in check by mutual hostility, and yet also ward off outside aggression by being ever ready to combine in defence against it” (1969, p. 56).

As a segmentary community, Oulad Ben Yeffu are made up of eight lineages (*fakhdas*). Four *fakhdas* descend from Sidi ‘Abdelaziz. These are Oulad Sidi Ahmed (Zawiya), Oulad Sidi ‘Abdallah (Dhahja), Oulad Sidi Mohammed (Timgert) and Oulad Sidi al-Bdawi (Ṭyur). Four others descend from his brother Sidi ‘Ali. These are Oulad Sidi ‘Abdelkarim (al-‘Rawa), Oulad Sidi Raḥḥu (al-Ḥsasna), Oulad Sidi ‘Ali Ben ‘Az, and Oulad Sidi ‘Ali (al-Ghlat) [for the location of the descendent lineages see the map below (the four tribes descending from Sidi ‘Ali are located in Duwar Mwalin al-Kudya)].

The condition of segmentation in the Buffi community may be illustrated by the long-established tension between Kerroum’s family and Sidi Yahya’s family. While the first family has been supported by the Buffis and regarded as having kinship with them, the second family

⁸ Regarding the strategy of narrativization (how stories serve to justify relations of power), see Thompson, 1990, pp. 61–2.

THE LOCATION OF THE EIGHT
DESCENDENT LINEAGES (*fakhdas*)



Map 2

has been partially challenged as an outsider clan. When he visited Oulad Ben Yeffu in the first decades of this century, Michaux-Bellaire described them as follows:

Les Oulad Ben Iffou sont les descendants de Sidi 'Abdelaziz Ben Iffou et de son frère Sidi 'Ali, originaires du Haouz, tribu des Ourika. La zaouïa comprend actuellement les "qobba" des deux fondateurs, une petite chapelle et une méderça où l'on enseigne le Koran. Sidi 'Abdelaziz, dit la tradition, avait le pouvoir de guérir diverses maladies, dont les maladies mentales. Actuellement il existe à la zaouïa de petites cellules qui servent à loger les malades. Elles sont presque toujours occupées. Les personnages notables de cette famille sont actuellement:

Le Fqih Sidi Ahmed Ben Kerroum, qui est un moqaddem du groupe et [Yahya al-Baghluli]

Les Oulad ben Iffou forment quatre groupes:

1. *Les gens de la zaouïa, qui sont au nombre de 120 environ y compris les "khoddam" étrangers;*

2. *Les Ahel Timgert, dits Oulad Sidi 'Abdelaziz, qui forment un douar d'une quarantaine de tentes;*
3. *Les Dehalja et les Tiour, qui comptent 140 tentes;*
4. *Les Oulad Sidi 'Ali Moulaine El-Koudia, qui forment quatre douars à quelques kilomètres de Souq El-Tnine de Gharbia, et qui comptent environ 200 tentes.*

Ces quatre groupes sont installés dans la tribu des Oulad 'Amor Gharbia, à quelques kilomètres les uns des autres. La plupart des Oulad Ben Iffou sont affiliés aux Darqaoua. (1932, pp. 132–33)

Micheaux-Bellaire refers to two notable families entitled to the leadership at the shrine: Kerroum's family and Sidi Yahya's family surnamed fictitiously al-Baghluli. Both families had and still have wealth and power in the region. But Kerroum's family is said to have perennial origins in al-Gharbiya. The monuments of Ben Kerroum's big mansion constructed more than one hundred and fifty years ago with dwellings for the harem and the *khuddam* point to the prosperity and wealth of the family—needless to mention here the *'rasi* (gardens) where different types of fruit were used to be grown. It seems that Ben Yeffu and his descendents have lived in extravagant luxury. Up to now the ex-*khuddam* of the Kerroum family are living in the vicinity of the shrine, some of them working as tenant farmers in the *shurfa's* land.

The story of Ben Kerroum's fortune is narrated by one of his female descendents, a married woman who still has good reminiscences of what her father used to tell her about the riches of the family. She talked to us from behind a veil. She said:

the founding family was very poor. They did not own any herds but all the same had to pay for the shepherd who took care of the cattle and sheep of the tribe. One day however a pair of cattle arrived at their doorstep. Another version states that there was a serpent living in their house that gave them each day a *ryal* of silver and gold. This could have provided the money that enabled them to buy the pair of cattle. They took care of them and started breeding them. The cattle multiplied and this became the basis of their fortune. People approached them now for milk and then for renting their bulls to cultivate the land. The family built up vast territories of land in the surrounding regions: about 100 ha in 'Ain Bbid'a, region of Tlyita Dyal B'aris, about 100 ha in 'Ain al-Ghur and pieces of land at Ben Yeffu from the *zawiya* to Sidi 'Addi and to Ḥad al-Bkhati in 'Abda (about 25 km from Ben Yeffu).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, they became very rich and important. In their house, luxury abounded. They had huge receptacles (*tbags*) full of spices, and jars of honey and *smen* (clarified and fermented butter). Olive oil was brought to them in leather bags (*gerbas*) on cam-

elback from Sous region. They had separate storage rooms for all these different things, and grew crops of different sorts.

Masons, sculpture makers and tillers from Marrakech worked for months in the house. They were escorted with slaves back to their homes loaded with bags of grain and other goods and wares. The narrator's father said about his own father's wealth: "Gold in our household used to be weighed by a corn measuring instrument called *tamna*."⁹ When the master sat with his wife in their bedroom there was a female slave (*khadem*) who mediated between them. She told *lallaha* (her mistress) what *sidha* (her master) had told her and vice versa. The narrator's husband commented on this as love by phone.

The descendents of this family are still well positioned in society. They do not live any more in the original castle (of which I saw the ruins) but are spread all over the country. Some members of this family like Sidi Ahmed, Sidi Abdellah, Sidi Mhammed and Sidi Mohammed were up to the fifties the leaders of a period of enlightenment and education at Ben Yeffu.

For half a century, Ben Yeffu was an education center in the Gharbiya region. It accommodated students of Qur'anic sciences from 'Abda and Doukkala. There were five major *kataib* (Qur'anic schools) at the shrine: Masjid al-'Tiq (the Qur'anic school of Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ben Kerroum nicknamed Mukhlis, one of the eminent educated figures of the period), Masjid al-Qwar, Kuttab al-Hwidgat, Kuttab Bel-Haj and Kuttab Driye'. These schools were provided for by the *shurfu* who sent their meals three times a day. The courses taught to the *tulba*¹⁰ there consisted of theological and grammatical courses as well as courses of logic. The generation called *jil* Mukhlis (the generation educated by Mukhlis) included about 100 *tulba* studying at those schools. Most of them graduated and continued their studies at al-Qarawiyin. Now, some of them are *qadis* (religious judges), *duls* (traditional notaries) and teachers.

⁹ Corn is measured by different units. There is the *'abra* (about 14 kilograms), *nes 'abra* equal to (1/2), *rab'a* equal to 1/4, and *tamna* equal to (1/8). Each amount has a special measuring container to weigh it. Up to now, *tamna* is used to measure corn though it seems to be going out of use in some regions. By custom people who cannot afford buying the *'abra* purchase *tamna* according to their income.

¹⁰ Sing. *taleb*; in many parts of Morocco the word *taleb* and the word *fqih* are interchangeable. The two words mean "Qur'anic teacher." We may specify the nuance between *taleb* and *fqih* by saying that the *fqih* is superior in knowledge to the *taleb*. In this case, the *taleb* may be a *fqih* in the making or a Koran reciter. Yet both of them may practice traditional healing or magic.

At the time, there was enthusiasm among Qur'anic students for learning and prayer. One of my interviewees says that they used to penalize any student who was late for dawn prayer by breakfasting at his house. Nowadays, the Qur'anic tradition is getting in decline. The number of schools has regressed to two schools, one at the shrine and the other at the mosque built by a princess from the United Arab of Emirates. This decline is due to the feeble efforts done by the government to support such kind of learning and to the spread of modern schooling that is believed to open new horizons for its students. People now prefer to send their children to modern schools. They want them to leave al-Gharbiya for a new life experience. Qur'anic schools do not offer such opportunities. Yet, a number of families still cling to the tradition of sending at least one child to the Qur'anic school. They still cannot imagine a *shrif*'s family without at least one *ṭaleb* in it.

At this point, it is essential to note that the word "imagine" used in the sentence above has a legacy of its own within the Buffi mythology. The Buffis imagine a great deal of tales and legends. These represent for them the palm oil with which the words and rituals of cure are "eaten." So, what is the ideological significance of the legendary heritage of the saint in the Buffi cultural context? What are the social and psychological tensions it represents? To answer these questions, a critical discursive study of the saint's founding legends invites analysis in the following section.

E. *The Founding Legends*

Oulad Ben Yeffu keep narrating legends—or what they themselves call *ḥikayas* (tales)—about the saint's *baraka* to inspire wonder and awe in their interlocutors and uphold the superiority of their ancestor. They introduce legends in conversations to persuade people of the miracles of the saint. These legends are for them decisive and irrefutable proofs of the saint's *baraka*. So, like most Moroccan saints, Ben Yeffu is rich in legend. Though these legends are rooted in historical reality, they seem to dissolve in the Buffi's magical world. All the explanations given in the legends are metaphysical and based on mysterious causes. Like most Moroccan saints, Ben Yeffu has lost his individual identity in these legends and appears to be an archetypal legendary figure. As Delehayé notes:

Ainsi dépouillés de leur individualité, isolés en quelque sorte du temps et de l'espace, enlevés à leur cadre naturel, les personnages historiques prennent dans l'esprit du peuple une forme irréaliste et sans consistance. Au portrait vivant et nettement caractérisé que nous a légué l'histoire se substitue un être idéal qui n'est que la personification d'une abstraction; au lieu de l'individu, la multitude ne connaît que le type [Delehayé is speaking here of Christian saints]. (cit. in Crapanzano, 1973, p. 30)

Delehayé maintains that the saint loses his particular characteristics and becomes a stock-in-trade legendary hero. True, most Moroccan saints figure in legends with recurrent popular themes such as resurrecting the dead, talking to them, walking on sea water, talking to animals and inanimate things, traveling outside time, foreseeing the unknown, abstaining from food and drink for days, knowing the treasures of the earth, and being immune to poisoning. All these miracles portray the image of the legendary hero who would descend on earth and redeem the miserable conditions of the masses. These miracles therefore epitomize the opiate beliefs of the subaltern groups that imagine omnipotent heroes and feed on the illusion that there may exist saints who can break the fetters of time and place, and help them better their social conditions. Thanks to these beliefs, they continue to cope with the open sores of their regular social frustrations.

As a matter of fact, the tales, quoted here, centring on the saint are typical legends following the standard path of the hero's mythological adventure: separation—initiation—return. The hero sets on an errand into a region of supernatural wonder; mysterious forces are encountered and a decisive victory is won. The hero gets the boon and returns to his community. Joseph Campbell's model of the archetypal adventure of the mythological hero applies to the founding legend of Ben Yeffu in that the latter has a universal legendary form that is archetypal in mythology. Grounded in a psychoanalytic perspective, the model helps us recognize the psychic symbols represented in the legend. Greimas and Souriau's actantial models will also be applied to unravel the structural roles the personae play and the ideological significance of the legend.

The Nuclear Unit of the Monomyth

The adventure of the mythological hero can be summarized in the following diagram:

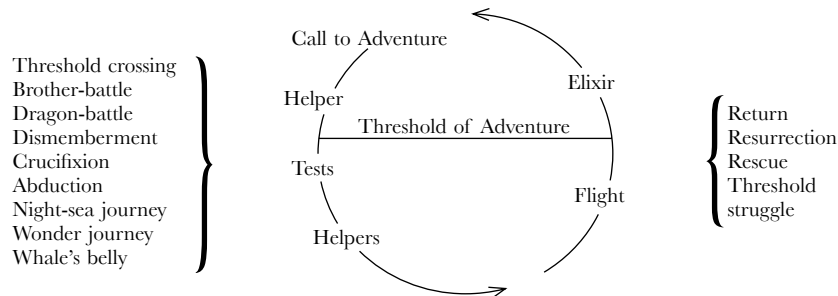


Fig. 7

The mythological hero, setting forth from his common-day hut or castle, is lured, carried away, or else voluntarily proceeds, to the threshold of adventure. There he encounters a shadow presence that guards the passage. The hero may defeat or conciliate this power and go alive into the kingdom of the dark (brother-battle, dragon-battle; offering, charm), or be slain by the opponent and descend in death (dismemberment, crucifixion). Beyond the threshold, then, the hero journeys through a world of unfamiliar yet strangely intimate forces, some of which severely threaten him (tests), some of which give magical aid (helpers). When he arrives at the nadir of the mythological round, he undergoes a supreme ordeal and gains his reward. The triumph may be represented as the hero's sexual union with the goddess-mother of the world (sacred marriage), his recognition by the father-creator (father atonement), his own divinisation (apotheosis), or again—if the powers have remained unfriendly to him—his theft of the boon he came to gain (bride-theft, fire-theft); intrinsically it is an expansion of consciousness and therewith of being (illumination, transfiguration, freedom). The final work is that of the return. If the powers have blessed the hero, he now sets forth under their protection (emissary); if not, he flees and is pursued (transformation flight, obstacle flight). At the return threshold the transcendental powers must remain behind; the hero re-emerges from the kingdom of dread (return, resurrection). The boon that he brings restores the world (elixir). (Campbell, 1972, pp. 245–6)

The questions to ask at this point are: to what extent does the legend of the saint Ben Yeffu follow this mythological path? How can this western model apply to a Moroccan legend? Is the legend of the saint a rite of passage to sainthood, or simply a list of miracles? In this respect, Crapanzano says: “We must be careful not to attribute the goal of edification to the Moroccan legends. The saint... is not considered a *wali* by virtue of his exemplary life but by virtue of the miracles he has performed. His life, in legendary form, is in fact often little more than a list of such miracles, which are considered to be proof of his

saintliness” (Crapanzano, 1973, p. 30). The legend below indeed offers a list of the miracles of the saint, but this list seems to be structured according to a mythological path. The Buffi healers narrate the *hikaya* of the saint as follows:

The Founding Legend of the Saint Ben Yéffu

Ahmed Abu Llait’s family lived in the Sahara till they were challenged by the saints of the region to quit the land. They moved to Marrakech where the father died and was buried in a region called Timazert. The movement of the Llait family from the Sahara to Marrakech is wreathed in shadows. No one knows exactly who his other sons are and how many of them have moved with him. The only story his descendents are sure of is that his two sons Sidi ‘Abdelaziz and Sidi ‘Ali stayed on living in Marrakech among its saints after his death.

In a region in Marrakech, there was a *‘afrit* (strong jinni) haunting a spring. He prevented the tribes from getting water out of it. He would harm whoever came near the spring. The tribesmen tried all means to appease his wrath but in vain. They had to organize feasts (*walimas*) each year offering him virgins as sacrifices in order to get small quantities of water at very short periods. The *‘afrit*, as a matter of fact, menaced their survival in the area. The tribes suffered from hunger and thirst. Their news spread all over Marrakech. But no saint dared to come to their help save for the saint Moulay Abu al-Qasim Ben ‘Abderazzaq, who advised the tribes to call Abu Llait’s sons to chase the *‘afrit* away. They told him that he should do it himself for they did not dare to call them because of the miracles and the secret powers they had. The aforementioned saint sent a messenger to them. Ben Yéffu and his brother agreed to help the tribes.

When ‘Abdelaziz and his brother arrived, all the saints of the region welcomed them and told them the story of the *‘afrit* in detail. Then, ‘Abdelaziz stated his conditions before facing the *‘afrit*.

Ben Yéffu: “Who is the *qutb* (Sufi supreme leader) in our times?” He asked them.

Saints: “You are the *qutb*!” They replied.

BY: “Who is the *ghawt* (supreme helper)?”

S: “You are the *ghawt*!”

BY: “Then you give me the ‘permission’ (*al-idn*) to master jinns by ‘treading upon them with my foot’ (*n’fes-hum bi rejli*) and ‘whipping them with the sword of jinns’ (*n’sra’-hum bi al-kalkha*).”

S: “You have our permission and promise that neither we nor our descendents would advance in front of you or your progeny to face jinns till Allah inherits the earth and its inhabitants.”

Then, ‘Abdelaziz went ahead to the spring and called the jinni to appear. Suddenly, a huge lion roaring came forward to kill the saint. It was the *‘afrit* disguised in the shape of a lion. ‘Abdelaziz “blew out on it” (*dar*

lih uff) and transformed it into a torch of fire reaching from the earth to the sky. It was burnt away. For that reason, namely because of the “blowing” (*uff*), ‘Abdelaziz was called Bu Uff which was later distorted to Ben Yeffu.

Later on, the saints invited Ben Yeffu and his brother to a big feast (*walima*) held in their honor. They wanted to test further their miraculous powers and offered them two dishes, one with “lawful food and forbidden meat” (*ta’am ḥalal wa llaḥm ḥaram*) and the other with “forbidden food and lawful meat” (*ta’am ḥaram wa llaḥm ḥalal*). When he saw the two dishes, Ben Yeffu stood up and said: “They made it a deception and we made it a cure (*huma daruh kshifa u hna darnah shifa*)!” Then he started sifting the lawful from the forbidden. He put the lawful food with the lawful meat in one dish and the forbidden food with the forbidden meat in another. Then, he told them to feed the sick with the forbidden meal in order to cure their pains with the will of Allah.

In the long run, Oulad Ben Yeffu’s powers grew more and more pervasive. So, the folk of the region became anxious about their fate and that of their descendents. They decided either to move somewhere else or to tell them to quit the land. They hesitated on who would inform them. The day when somebody volunteered to tell them the decision of the tribes, he discovered that Oulad Ben Yeffu had already gone. They journeyed to ‘Abda. They first settled in an area belonging to ‘Abdallah Ben Ssabu’i for about three years. There, Ben Yeffu buried his three children: Fatima, Mohammed Mul al-Qwas, and Ahmed Mul al-Shgar,¹¹ who all left no descent.

One year later, the region endured a severe drought. Ben Yeffu saw that as God’s punishment to the ‘Abdis who did not observe the dictates of Islam. He said to his brother: “let’s leave! ‘May God damn the area where people find it easy to cultivate but find it hard to be pious!’ (*a’udu bi llah min al-ḥart al-yasir u dḍin al-‘asir/al-khasir*). ‘We are going to the coastal land where there is water and wood and where daily bread depends on the Giver’ (*n-mshiw l-blad ssahil/al-ma u l-ḥwad u rzaq ‘al l-jawwad*).” They moved till they reached Mul al-Bergi, an area about seven kilometers from the present shrine of Ben Yeffu. They stayed there for about two years entertained by Musa, the father of ‘Abderahman Mul al-Bergi. They spread their *baraka* on the land that became fertile as ever producing all sorts of fruits, especially pomegranates. When Mul al-Bergi was born, Oulad Ben Yeffu hurried to see the newborn and bless him. The father welcomed them and said in harmless fun: “Now with the birth of this child, we have company to soothe our loneliness; you can leave if you wish!” Sidi ‘Ali, who was famous for hasty retaliation, retorted: “May God leave you without children (*taraka llahu naslakuma*)!” His brother told him: “You have been hasty! Your curse has been accepted.” Indeed, the Mul al-Bergi family died out.

¹¹ He was named as such because he had a blond horse.

Then, Oulad Ben Yeffu left towards the frontiers between 'Abda and Doukkala, the place where Ben Yeffu's shrine was erected. On their way, they passed by a small village—Qrayet Shrif—that belonged to Mohammed Shrif. His son was washing some clothes near the spring. He had received orders from his father to tell everyone who wanted to see him that he was sick. When Sidi 'Ali asked him to call his father, the son, as told, said that his father suffered from fever and could not see anyone. Sidi 'Ali replied: "God make it true (*ja'ala-ha rabbi haqqa*)!" The following day the father caught a mortal fever and passed away.

Then they wandered on till they arrived at a place near al-Gharbiya where Samlala used to live. They were also known as al-Fṭayṭis—the word was attributed to their ancestor who used to "raise people's awareness" (*yufattinu mas*). Here the people were slaughtering a cow and dividing it into equal portions (this process is called *al-wzi'a*, and the portion is called *al-gur'a*). The Samlalis bungled the ritual of slaughter and the cow ran in crazed circles from al-'Ouina, the first place of its slaughter, to al-'Agba al-Hamra (the Red Slope) where it was re-slaughtered, its blood colouring the soil. 'Abdelaziz's children desired to eat from the meat.¹² Therefore, he sent his slave to ask al-Fṭayṭis to give him a share (*gur'a*) of the meat distribution (*al-wzi'a*). They refused. His brother Sidi 'Ali and the children wanted to go to take their share by force but Ben Yeffu prevented them. He rather sent his slave time and again to ask them peacefully to give him a share even if it contained offal. They ignored his messenger. Then, Ben Yeffu asked his slave to take his staff, wait for them to disperse, then hold the cow's skin by its tail and hit the skin with the staff, saying: "You cow! Stand up with the power of the All-hearing, All-knowing God."¹³ When the slave did as told, the pieces of meat amassed, became a live cow and vanished in bellows, leaving only dust in the air. The people of Samlala stood in astonishment and succumbed to the saint's power. From that time on, Oulad Ben Yeffu commemorated the ritual of *al-wzi'a*. Each year, they would sacrifice a cow during the *mousseem*. The sacrificed animal would be cut in pieces without being skinned. The pieces would

¹² "His children yearned for the meat" (*wa ḥazza fi nafsi aoulādihi al-laḥmu*): This expression is quoted from the hand-written manuscript written by Jilali Ben 'Abd al-Qader Sahli in 1974. It refers to the idea mentioned before concerning the importance of meat for Moroccans. The word *ḥazza* in Moroccan Arabic means that the saint's children were affected by the fact that they were not allowed to taste from the meat. Literally, it means that they yearned for the meat that was denied to them. This implies that Oulad Ben Yeffu ran the risk of being possessed (*kanu ḡhadi y-t-hawshu*). Up to now, many of Oulad Ben Yeffu consume meat in large quantities as if to compensate for the meat portions that were denied to their ancestors in the past.

¹³ "*qūmī yā baqrah bi qudrati ssamī'i al-'alīm*." This expression is recurrent in many saints' founding legends. Ben Yeffu is not the only one known for resurrecting a cow. His neighbour in 'Abda Sidi Mohammed Ben al-Ma'ti famous for curing rabies has a similar legend. He was given land by the natives for fear from his power manifested in a cow resurrection. It is the same scenario, which shows that such legends are part of a collective popular imagination.

be distributed to the pilgrims. Women would immerse their scarves and handkerchiefs in blood and rub their bodies with it in order to purify themselves. That tradition of cutting the cow into portions without skinning it was banned about more than twenty years ago.¹⁴

As the reader may notice, the first part of the legend that depicts the saint's adventure to save a community from the threat of a monster-jinni follows the path of the mythological hero: departure—initiation—return. The first phase of departure starts with the call to adventure. Ben Yeffu is called to the adventure by a herald. The herald is the saint, Mulay Abu al-Qasim Ben 'Abderazzaq, a typical legendary figure of the wise man who can predict the future. He informs the tribe that their redemption can only be realized with the coming of Ben Yeffu to their help. This means that the saint is *chosen* for the errand (a prophetic metaphor). He has the powers the adventure requires. True, many saints have refused the call. This shows that Ben Yeffu's adventure is full of challenge. It may be the cutting edge between his powers and those of other saints.

Before embarking on his errand to face the 'afrit (monster jinni) that threatened the security of the tribe, Ben Yeffu received some *supernatural aid*. The saints of the region gave him the permission (*al-idn*) to exorcise jinns. They gave him *al-idn* to tread upon jinns with his foot and beat them with a magic rod called *al-kalkha*. The rod reminds the reader of the magic equipment Perseus received while embarking on his errand to slay Medusa's head. He was given a magic sword by Hermes and a magic shield by Athena. The Hyperboreans also gave him winged sandals, a magic wallet, and most important of all, a cap which made the wearer invisible. With these Perseus was ready for the Grogons. Similarly, Ben Yeffu did not face the 'afrit barehanded. He was also properly equipped for the errand. He had his body immunized against jinn attacks by virtue of the saints' accord, *al-idn*. Also, his body became a fatal weapon capable of destroying *jnun*: the expression *foot* in the legend is a synecdoche, a part representing the whole—the *body*. This is why when the saint blows on the 'afrit, he destroys him. The puff is a body-reaction that may also include saliva, a body-secretion. Ben Yeffu

¹⁴ Many *hufdan* narrated the tale of Ben Yeffu. Hermans and I tried to check all the variations with them till we formulated the final version that we considered the collective tale of Oulad Ben Yeffu. Few *hufdan* were reticent about the ritual of cutting the cow into pieces without skinning it. But many *hufdan* and tribesmen from the different *fakhdas* confirmed that the tradition existed about twenty years ago.

also received *al-idn* to use a magic rod to destroy jinns. The rod has been inherited by his descendents and is still used up to the present.

The second phase of the saint's journey is called *initiation*. The saint "outgrows the popular idyll of the mother breast and turns to face the world of specialized adult action" (Campbell, 1949, p. 136). Ben Yeffu passes into the sphere of the Father and performs the tasks and duties concomitant with this new role. Properly equipped for the adventure to acquire this new role, the saint went to the spring and called the 'afrit to a face-to-face duel. It was one blow of air/saliva from the saint's mouth that transformed the 'afrit into a blaze that fainted away. The tribe was at last released from the yearly ritual of offering a virgin to propitiate the 'afrit's wrath. From a psychoanalytic perspective, the 'afrit may stand for the ogre aspect of the Father. The scene depicts the traditional rivalry between father and son: the son against the father for the mastery of the universe. To use Lacan's term, the 'afrit is the incarnation of the *Primal Other*, who threatens castration, who "introduces 'lack' and 'gap' into the operations of the subject and, which, in doing so, incapacitates the subject for selfhood, or inwardness, or apperception, or plenitude, or mutuality; it guarantees the indestructibility of desire by keeping the goals of desire in perpetual flight" (Bowie, 1987, p. 117).

The Primal Other (for Lacan as for Freud) is the father within the Oedipal triangle who prohibits the child's desire for his mother and threatens to punish him with castration. In Lacan's writings, the father is the symbolic father whose name initiates and propels the signifying chain: "it is in *the name of the Father* that we must recognize the support of the symbolic function which, from the dawn of history, has identified his person with the figure of the law" (1977, p. 67). The first encounter with the legislating *name of the Father* incapacitates the subject for selfhood and thus condemns him to a perpetual desire. It also constructs the subject's interactions with others in terms of aggression/subservience. Lacan makes use of Hegel's master-slave logic as a reconstructible model for these interactions.

The 'afrit is the Primal Other in that he is the abductor, the castrator. The virgins he rapes every year are clues to this reading. The 'afrit bereaves the tribesmen of their male identity. He feminises them. When he appears in the shape of a lion, he incarnates the castrating father. The lion is the symbol of virility and manhood. The word "lion" is also the nickname given to Ben Yeffu's father (Llait) for the powers he used to have. So, the father's name is endowed with life in the legend. It is personified in a lion. Ben Yeffu is the son whose manhood is eclipsed by

his father's masculine identity and whose desire for selfhood is propelled by the threat of castration the legislating *name of the Father* represents. His triumph over the father is a triumph over the master. The blowing *uff* is a castration process in which the saliva may be analogous to semen. This *uff* is the cutting edge between femininity/slavery and masculinity/master-ship. Ben Yeffu emerges from the quest as a man replacing the father and thus acquiring his power (semen, virility, manhood, *baraka*, saintliness). His name is no longer Weld (Abu) Llait (the son of the lion). He is reborn into a new masculine identity: Bu Uff (the master of *uff*) that was later distorted to Ben Yeffu.

The third phase of the saint's journey may be termed "return." Ben Yeffu makes a triumphant return from his quest for manhood. He becomes master of the two worlds, the spiritual and the material. He relinquishes his earthly desires for something sublime: the knowledge of Allah, the Eternal Father. He gives up completely all attachment to his personal hopes, ambitions and fears and no longer resists the self-annihilation that is prerequisite to rebirth in the realization of truth and saintliness. The maturation of the saint and his rebirth in the realization of truth (the perfect knower of the Imperishable) is represented in the *walima* scene. Ben Yeffu discerns the difference between the lawful and the forbidden. He even transforms the forbidden into cure for the sick: an ultimate cognisance that makes him near Allah, a real *wali* akin to many saints in the social and mythological contexts of the Orient.

Ben Yeffu is the man of realization. As master of the two worlds, he resurrects a slaughtered and severed cow into life. What does this scene signify in the legend? Following the same line of reasoning, we can interpret this as the brutal aspect of the saint's power/*baraka*. Like the *'afrit*, Ben Yeffu has completed the round journey of sainthood (see Campbell's diagram above). We are back at the starting point with a saint like Abu Llait whose *baraka* can be protective as well as destructive—Sidi 'Ali with his destructive curses may represent the other facet of Ben Yeffu's *baraka* par excellence. Ben Yeffu castrates Samlala. On account of refusing him a share of the cow, he condemns them to deprivation and diaspora. The legend ends on the tone that the original encounter between father and son is indefinitely perpetual. There will be another child who will *actively* seek his father's *baraka*.

This psychoanalytic reading of the legend makes it clear that the relationship of father and son is similar to that of master and slave. It is governed by the dialectic of domination and submission. As I shall show in chapter three, the process of jinn eviction is regulated by the

same dialectic that seems to structure the *shurfa*'s interactions with patients. Does it mean that this is a cultural schema, as Hammoudi maintains, that traverses the microcosmic maraboutic institution as part of a macrocosmic social fabric? Is it simply a legacy of the past that exists no longer or rather a living frame that accounts for the contemporary social rapports of domination? The following chapters will answer these questions in detail and show to what extent the cultural schema of domination is a complex pattern that indelibly marks the maraboutic subject's dealings with others.

In Moroccan culture, a distinction can be made between the ends for which men strive in the world and the aim of absolute release from these ends. These are three. They stem from a popular conception of Islam: 1. Love and pleasure (*al-bast*); 2. Power and success (*al-jāh*); 3. Lawful order and moral virtue (*ṭtaqwā*).

The first corresponds to the notion of sex. Anyone motivated by this urge sees sex in everything. The second corresponds to striving for power and self-aggrandizing behaviour. Each person fully mastered by this drive desires to conquer. "These two systems of interest, then—the erotic and aggressive—may be taken to represent, together, the sum of man's primary biological urges. They do not have to be infused; they are implicit at birth and supply the animal foundations of all experience and reaction" (Campbell, 1976, p. 465). The third element corresponds to the sense of duty and the will to abide by it. This is not an innate urge but instilled education. As Campbell further argues:

The aim of education in the primitive, archaic, and Oriental spheres has always been and will no doubt continue to be, for many centuries, not primarily to enlighten the mind concerning the nature of the universe, but to create communities of shared experience for the engagement of the sentiments of the growing individual in the matters of chief concern to the local group. The unsocialized thought and feeling of the very young child are egocentric but not socially dangerous. When the primary urges of the adolescent remain unsocialized, however, they become inevitably a threat to the harmony of the group. The paramount function of all myth and ritual, therefore, has always been, and surely must continue to be, to engage the individual, both emotionally and intellectually, in the local organization. (1976, pp. 466–7)

This aim is best effected in the founding legend of the saint. From an ideological perspective, the saint's journey seems to be a ritual of death and resurrection, death of unsocialized thought (illicit desire incarnated by the monster-jinni), and the resurrection of the socially

desirable adult. The *ṭṭaqwā* incarnated in the *baraka* of the saint has the weight and power to work on the two others (*al-jah* and *al-bast*) represented by the jinni. The saint emerges as the omnipotent all-father who restores the natural order of an ideal humanity. The main point here is that this socially inculcated principle, *ṭṭaqwā*, should control the two other biological drives. It is a triumph over what is termed in Islam “*ahwa’ nafs*” (the earthly pleasures of the self). These drives should be “whipped” (*y-tṣar’u*) into form or rendered mad (jinn possessed). As Foucault maintains:

The history of madness would be the history of the other—of that which, for a given culture, is at once interior and foreign, therefore to be excluded (so as to exorcise the interior danger) but by being shut away (in order to reduce its otherness); whereas the history of the order imposed on things would be the history of the Same—of that which, for a given culture, is both dispersed and related, therefore to be distinguished by kinds and to be collected together into identities. (cit. in Young, 1990, p. 73)

Taking Foucault’s statement into consideration, we may assume that the legend as part the Buffis’ healing discourse depicts the beating of desire into form. The subject is assaulted from every side to be controlled by the mores of the local group. Either the subject conforms to the dictates of the social group or he is reformed, deformed or even liquidated—like the jinni (the *other*) in the legend or in Ben Yeffu’s poem—‘Aw‘awi—analysed afterwards.

To delineate the signs of domination in the legend, we can also look at it from a semiotic perspective (see Barthes’ model, 1995). The mythical signifier in the legend is the story of Ben Yeffu as a whole. It is a linguistic sign as well as a mythical signifier. The mythical signified is saintliness: Ben Yeffu has *baraka* in that he can exorcise jinns and do other miracles. This process of signification distorts the history of the saint and impoverishes the other meanings that may spring to the surface in the legend. But it does not obliterate them. If we focus on the legend as a full signifier, we may discern the other distorted meanings and undo the signification of the legend as an imposture: it becomes the alibi of the saint’s *baraka*. The causality between the mythical signifier and signified is artificial. The intentions of this mythic sign are naturalized so that the legend consumer takes the signification for a system of facts, whereas it is but a semiological system. The legend distorts and impoverishes the history of the saint that abounds in vast land, slaves, *khuddam* (sing. *khdim*), wealth, power and other prerogatives. It obscures this history and highlights the benevolent picture of *baraka*. This may

correspond to the interests of the Buffi community. People who may consume the legends of *baraka* innocently may either be reduced to zealous *khuddam* and followers, or faithful saint goers to Ben Yeffu.

It is essential to note at this point that the legend may be analysed on many different levels and from different theoretical perspectives. It may also be read as an explanation of the Buffi ritual of blowing on jinns or as an explanation of the saint's settlement in al-Gharbiya region. Here, the hierarchization of saints and problems of land frontiers are of relative importance. The legend may also be read as a representation of the hostility of nature. I have been concerned, however, only with those elements of the legends that are pertinent to the understanding of the Buffi healing system, particularly the master-slave relationship that will be focused on while discussing the patient-healer relationship and the signs of domination that delineate the type of logic the maraboutic discourse is built on.

To go on with my reading of the signs of domination in the legend, I will focus on the representation of the hostility of nature. Greimas and Souriau's models will be applied though there is no fixed order of events in the legend. Souriau proposes a morphology of roles (his term functions) to which the analysed texts are reducible.¹⁵ Each of Souriau's functions may be fulfilled by more than one figure simultaneously, just as important figures may cover more than one of the listed roles. Elam lists these functions as follows:

- 1 Ω *The Lion*, or incarnated 'thematic force' of the story, residing in its principal character (the protagonist—Propp's 'hero'). This character 'represents and puts into play the force which generates all the narrative tension present.' The embodied force in question might be love, ambition, honour, jealousy, etc.
- 2 \odot *The Sun*, or representative of the good or value sought by Ω . The good or value is, for example, the crown, liberty, the holy grail, etc. It may be embodied in a particular individual (Propp's sought-for person) or remain an ideal end.
- 3 \ominus *The Earth*, or receiver of the \odot sought by Ω : the protagonist desires the Good not necessarily on his own behalf but often for another individual or even a community (liberty is sought for the protagonist's country).
- 4 $\♂$ *Mars*, or the opponent. The protagonist has to deal with a rival or antagonist who offers an obstacle to the fulfillment of his goal.

¹⁵ The conventional symbols he gives for transcribing the roles are slightly changed here because they are not available in Microsoft Word.

- 5 \approx *The Scale*, or arbitrator of the situation, whose role is to attribute the Good to, for example Ω or ♂ . This role might be covered by God or the gods in *deus ex machina* fashion, by the ruler of the community, or by the representative of the Good itself, as when the object of love chooses between the protagonist and his rival.
- 6 \odot *The Moon*, or helper, whose function is to reinforce any one of the other five (by assisting the protagonist, so giving \odot (Ω), the opponent— \odot (♂)—the representative of the Good— \odot (☼)—etc.). (1980, pp. 127–8)

According to Souriau's model, the structure of the first part of the founding legend may be charted as follows:

- Ω Ben Yeffu embodies the thematic force "*baraka*."
 ☼ The Good sought is the spring of water.
 ♀ The potential receiver of the Good is the community.
 ♂ The saint's path is blocked by the '*afrit*.
 \approx The desired Good is attributed by the *baraka* of the saint.
 \odot The saint is assisted in his quest by the saints of the region; they gave him the "permission" (*al-idn*) to exorcise jinns.

The structure of the legend may be charted as follows:

$$\Omega \approx \text{☼} - \text{♀} - \odot (\Omega) - \text{♂}.$$

Before commenting on the structure of the legend as it is charted according to Souriau's model, let us compare this diagram with another structuralist diagram done according to Greimas' model that is an adaptation of Souriau married with Propp. Greimas insists that his modifications represent an improvement on Souriau's model because of their linguistic basis and because the actants are set in oppositional relations rather than simply listed. The chart may be drawn as follows:

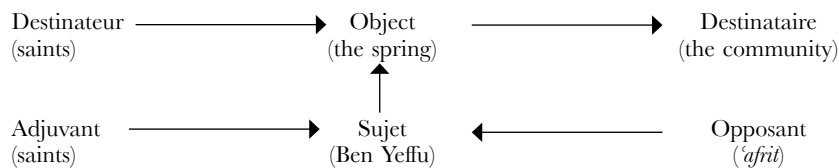


Fig. 8

As the reader may notice in the first chart (completed according to Souriau's model), the motif of *baraka* plays two roles. It is the thematic force of the legend as well as the arbitrator of the situation. Embodied by the saint Ben Yeffu, *baraka* appears to be an opaque sign that does not refer to any power superior to it. There is no reference to Destiny

or God or any other power except the *baraka* of the saint and the help of other saints' *baraka*. That *baraka* has the power to bestow the good on the protagonist shows its foregrounded function in the legend and thus in the Buffis' imaginative world. The Buffi community, as mentioned before, regards its ancestor's *baraka* as unique. For its members, *baraka* is opaque in that its roots are unknown. It does not derive from any other saint's power. It is a taken-for-granted- assumption in the Buffi cultural context that to realize a wish or cure a sickness, the Buffi should not call but on his grandfather's *baraka*. It is the panacea for all problems. Thus, the Buffis spontaneously call on Ben Yeffu while curing someone, or while they are themselves in a state of strain. The recurrent formulae most Buffis use in this respect are "*a bi jah Ben Yeffu*" (with the power of Ben Yeffu)/"*a-barakat Ben Yeffu*" (with the *baraka* of Ben Yeffu)/"*a-brakat Jaddi*" (with the *baraka* of my grandfather).

Ben Yeffu, therefore, incarnates the thematic force of the legend. He journeys to destroy the opponent (jinni) who threatens the survival of the community. The sought-for-object is the spring of water that is under the jinni's control. The spring here is an index of life and survival. Water is a sacred nectar for Moslems. Allah says: "we...made every living thing from water" (*surat al Anbiyā'* [The Prophets], *aya*: 30). In this sense, Ben Yeffu's journey is scared, and is intended to save the community from the repression of an evil figure. This evil figure is anonymous. It is part of the forces of nature. *Jnun* in Islam are believed to be fire-beings. Fire as an element of nature is commonly associated with heat, drought, sun, thirst, death, lack of vegetation, and lack of food. It is an incarnation of the forces of death. A binary opposition of life vs. death may generate two paradigms that include a number of deferred signs opening up the chain of significance derived from the opposition of saint vs. jinni. The following table sums up these oppositions:

Table 2. Binary Oppositions

Life vs.	Death
Saint	<i>ʿafrit</i>
<i>baraka</i>	Oppression
Water	Fire
Shelter	Heat
Fertility	Aridness/Drought
Gratification	Famine
Health	Sickness

These two paradigms make it obvious that the collective threat represented by the *‘afrit* in the legend is but a sign of the wrath of nature embodied in droughts, famines and epidemics. The legend therefore is an invented narrative legitimising the Buffi ritual of digging forth water. Ben Yeffu is portrayed in the legend as “specialized” (*mkellaf*) in evoking underground water. The spring he releases from the jinni’s grip is but an index of the real spring he is believed to have burst out in the Gharbiya region ‘Ain al-Ghur.¹⁶

The saint’s legend stems from an agricultural context in which the idea of regeneration and rebirth is part of the cosmic cycle of life. Agricultural societies are rich in myths and legends about immortality and rebirth. This is related to their agricultural system. Let us take the example of Gilgamesh, the Sumerian king of Uruk. He had embarked on an errand to find a plant that would renew youth in his community. But after he obtained the plant, it was seized by a serpent, and Gilgamesh unhappily returned to Uruk. Why a plant? The plant is the incarnation of immortality. It is a seed planted in the ground for growth. Then it ripens into a grain and is reaped (it becomes dead). Then, it is planted again into the ground for growth. It follows a cosmic cycle of life that shows its perpetual resurrection. The Buffi legend emanates from this agricultural context. That is why it revolves around the idea of rebirth. At Mul Bergi’s place, they (Ben Yeffu and his brother) spread their *baraka* on the land that became fertile as ever producing all sorts of fruits, especially pomegranates. Fertility here connotes the idea of rebirth. Seeds may be planted into the ground for growth, then reaped when ripe only to be planted for another time, which evokes the notion of rebirth. Moreover, pomegranates are considered sacred in that they

¹⁶ The Buffis relate that their ancestor came to the Gharbiya region and found it dry. So, he took his staff dug it in the ground and said “*ghurri hna!*” (flow out here!). Water came out of the ground flowing in torrents. From that time on, a spring issued and was called ‘Ain al-Ghur. The word al-Ghur may also mean *shurfā*. So, it may be called ‘the spring of the *shurfā*.’ The Buffis’ story is modeled on the myth of Moses’ magic staff that creates miracles. In fact, the staff (*al’ukkaz*), like the prayer carpet, the rosary, and the rough rags are all aspects of Sufi life. There was a Sufi movement in Morocco ever since the sixteenth century known for taking the staff (*al’ukkaz*) as their emblem. They were even named after it—*al’akakiza* or *al’ukkaziya*—no need to speak here about their disruptive and subversive inclinations for about four centuries (see Najmi, 2000). One of their leaders, *shaykh* Abdellah al-Khayat, like Ben Yeffu, dug his staff in the ground in Tassawet region in Tadla and a spring of water flew out. Also in Zarhun, a spring is attributed to his *baraka* and is named ‘Ain al-Ukkaz, the spring of the staff” (Najmi, 2000, p. 315).

are mentioned in the Qur'an as the fruit of paradise (see *surat al-An'am*, *aya*: 99 & 141; *surat ar-Rahman*, *aya*: 68). They are regarded as eternal. Even their skin is dried and used to cure stomach sicknesses. All these are clues pointing to the idea of rebirth in the legend. Also, the saint's *baraka* of evoking water is related to the idea of rebirth since water is at the origin of the fertility of the land. The saint's *baraka* of rebirth is also illustrated in the legend by the last scene of the resurrection of the cow into life.

This scene shows that the *baraka* of the saint has attained the apogee of its maturity. It is his slave who takes the staff and resurrects the cow. This indicates the transmissibility of the saint's *baraka*. The meaning this picture conveys to us is that even his slave may be powerful if given permission (*al-idn*) by the saint. The slave stands for a whole paradigm including slaves, servants (*khuddam*), clients and all types of followers. The Buffi folk poetry states that the servants' call for the saint's power is answered before his descendents' call. A verse of their curing poetry goes as follows: "Forever a Sultan who reigns with counsel/a helper of his servant, son, and every caller."¹⁷ In the verse, the word "*khdimu*" (pl. *khuddam*) is syntactically fronted and thus linguistically foregrounded. In terms of importance, it is ranked higher than the word "*weldu*" (son). As no use of language is considered truly neutral and value-free, then what is the purpose of this ideological construction of the close relationship of the servant to the saint? In this maraboutic context, the meaning of servitude as a yoke of oppression is deformed into the meaning of "*ḥimāya*" (guardianship) offered by the saint. To serve the saint is to receive his protection and *baraka*. Thus goes the schema of domination in Moroccan culture. It also applies to the Sultan who reinforces the allegiance of his subjects by presenting himself to them as a symbol of guardianship (Hammoudi, 2000).¹⁸ The slave is not coerced into slavery

¹⁷ The Arabic version reads as follows: (*Sultan 'ala dawām y-ḥkam bi al-mashwar/ghayāt khdimu u weldu u-kul men nadāh*).

¹⁸ Regarding overt domination, the Sultan had been a long established institution and political form of governance that had sustained itself for centuries by force and ideology in Morocco. By force, "almost every Sultan engaged in military action immediately upon his appointment. The *ḥarka* (movements of the army under the prince's command) was a major institution of governance" (Hammoudi, 1997, p. 62). By ideology, Moroccans were constructed into sultanic subjects by means of various myths and rituals of submission to the charismatic power of the Sultan (Combs-Schilling, 1989). It was believed that the community might collapse into anarchy if there were not a leader above civil society who could unite it despite its cultural divisions (Arabs vs. Berbers, bourgeoisie vs. populace, urban vs. rural). One of the proverbial sayings

but is rather produced a slave out of his own accord. If someone is loyal to the Buffi lineage, he will gain his share of the *khubza* (literally, a loaf of bread: another term for *baraka*). Thus operates the ideology of *baraka* in the Buffi community. Here, we fall back on Hammoudi's assumption that the *shaykh's* society is a society of followers (*khuddam*, disciples and slaves). They have to pay him allegiance ritually, a form of slavery masquerading in disguise, and a social domination camouflaged under a religious veneer.

People also submit to the saint Ben Yeffu because of his miraculous power whether dead or alive. He is known among his followers for his triumph over the despotic Sultan I-Kḥal. Some Buffi informants relate the story of the monumental defeat of the Black Sultan and add another story speaking of the defeat of a recently despotic *qaid* in the Gharbiya region to give good reason for the legitimate power of the saint Ben Yeffu.

Other Legends

1. The Black Sultan (Sultan I-Kḥal) came to the Medina al-Gharbiya and heard about the saint Ben Yeffu's growing power.¹⁹ So, he sent him one of the *makhzenis* (agents of the Makhzen) to order him to come to his residence. When he arrived at the shrine, the *makhzeni* spoke disrespectfully to the saint. So, Ben Yeffu replied to him: "Go and tell your master: You're a Sultan and I am a Sultan. He whom Allah takes by the hand may stand up!"²⁰ When the Sultan heard that, he gathered a troop of soldiers and waged an attack (*ḥarka*; see footnote 17) on the region with horses wearing silver horseshoes fastened with golden nails. When he reached the battlefield, he summoned Ben Yeffu to prepare himself for the battle. Ben Yeffu mounted his horse and rode to the battlefield alone. When the Black Sultan saw him, he laughed in surprise. The man should have prepared his fighters and weapons. The Sultan shouted to his soldiers: "catch him!" (*qabṭuh*). Ben Yeffu replied: "you say: catch (*qbat*)! I say: lift (*yfa'*)!" The Black Sultan was lifted with his horse to the sky. All his soldiers retreated in fear and awe from the saint. When the Sultan

repeated to the point of staleness in this respect went that "a repressive Sultan was better than everlasting anarchy" (*sultanun ghashum khayrun min fitnatin tadum*).

¹⁹ The story of the arrival of the Sultan I-Kḥal at Ben Yeffu may be enhanced by the existence of a historical monument within the vicinity of the shrine called *ḥaiṭ al-mḥella*. The name of the wall seems to refer to the Sultan's *ḥarka* (also named *al-mḥella*, see Montagne, 1930, p. 372). It is the place where the Sultan I-Kḥal was thought to have first arrived and challenged the saint into battle.

²⁰ The Arabic version reads as follows: "*sir gul al-sidk/nta Sultan u ana Sultan u lli shed lih allah bi yedu y-nud*".

was brought back to the ground, he descended from his horse and shook hands with the saint. They became friends and the Sultan gave him a legal permission to exploit the land from Marrakech to the sea.

[There is another popular version of the same legend narrated by some *shurfa* from Duwar al-Kudya]. They say that Ben Yeffu went out to face the Sultan l-Khal accompanied with a black jinni with seven heads. The jinni rent the Sultan off his horse and lifted him to the sky. The Sultan started saying *tslim* (an expression of surrender). Then the saint ordered the jinni to bring him back to earth. Back on his horse, the Sultan fled away.

2. During the colonial period, a *qaid* of Shiyadma called al-Metougi came to Ben Yeffu with a body-part paralysis. He had to spend one night at the shrine in order to feel better. The following morning when he was walking nearby the saint, he saw a bull grazing in that sacred land. He told someone there to call the man to whom the animal belonged. When the man came and accepted to sell the bull, the *qaid* paid him the price without bargaining. Then the *qaid* ordered that the bull should be slaughtered in the *nhira* (the slaughter place) and shared out among all the *shurfa*. He also asked them to prepare a *walima* (feast) for the *tulba* at night at the shrine with some of the meat chopped from the slaughtered bull.

The following day the *qaid* Ben Hmida responsible for the area was informed of al-Metougi's stay at Ben Yeffu. He went to visit him accompanied by a *qadi* in the same area, named Si Hmed Ben 'Omar. When the *qadi* beheld the offerings brought by the people to the *siyyed* (saint) and the skin of the bull offered by the *qaid* for slaughter the day before, he was jealous and told the *qaid* of the area that the *shurfa* should not slaughter all those offerings; to the contrary they should sell them and use their costs for building rooms nearby the shrine for visitors. The *qaid* took the advice into account, and prohibited the *shurfa* from slaughtering sacrifices and advised them to do a social service with the money they made from such offerings. The *shurfa* did as they were told by disallowing visitors to buy offerings and slaughter them at the shrine. They asked them to give money instead. One day, a jinni came, or rather a man haunted by a jinni came and the jinni in him asked for an offering to be slaughtered since he would drink its blood and quit the man's body once for all. The *shurfa* answered the jinni that they could not abide by his demand because of the *qaid*'s orders. The jinni replied that those orders were not issued by the *qaid* but rather by the *qadi*. He told them that he would go to the *qadi*, strike him (*y-durbu*) and pressurize him to bring the offering to be slaughtered at the shrine. The jinni was absent for a moment and came back to tell them that he could not touch the *qadi* because he was protected/surrounded by an iron-wall. The *shurfa* asked the jinni how he happened to be so much fortified. The jinni replied that the iron-wall came from the fact that he met all his family's needs. Still, the jinni suggested another solution. He went to the *qadi*'s eldest son and struck him (*darbu*). When the son started wriggling in pain (*y-tradqakh*), his father came and asked him:

- “What’s the matter, son?”
- “This is not your son, this is a jinni speaking!” The jinni replied.
- “Why have you attacked this little boy? What do you want from him?” The *qadi* asked.
- “And you, why did you put your nose in Oulad Ben Yeffu’s affairs? Is it your business that they do or they do not slaughter sacrifices! If you want your son to recover, you take a sheep to the shrine, slaughter it yourself there, and ask the *qaid* to cancel his orders and leave Oulad Ben Yeffu to mind their business on their own,” the jinni replied.

The *qadi* hurried to the *qaid*’s office and told him the whole story. The latter immediately issued new orders. A *makhzeni* carried the sheep “on his neck” (*la gfah*) for at the time there were no vehicles, and walked with the *qadi* to the shrine. Once, there, the *qadi* slaughtered the sheep himself and asked the *shurfa* forgiveness, promising them that no one would meddle with their affairs any longer. Furthermore, the *qaid* built a *qubba* there. Ever since, it has been called “*qubbat al-qaid*” (the *qaid*’s dome).

The legends above portray the conflict between the saint and the Sultan and between the saint’s descendents and the Makhzen administrators. The Sultan, the *qaid* and the *qadi* may be considered as symbols of a cultural heritage of discursive explanations, resources and maps of meanings that bond Moroccans into “imagined communities” sharing the same history of domination. The legends juxtapose two types of power, a secular power and a charismatic one. This opposition can be drawn in a semiotic square to exhaust the logical possibilities of opposition and represent the process of signification in the form of a double relation of disjunction and conjunction. The diagram reads as follows:

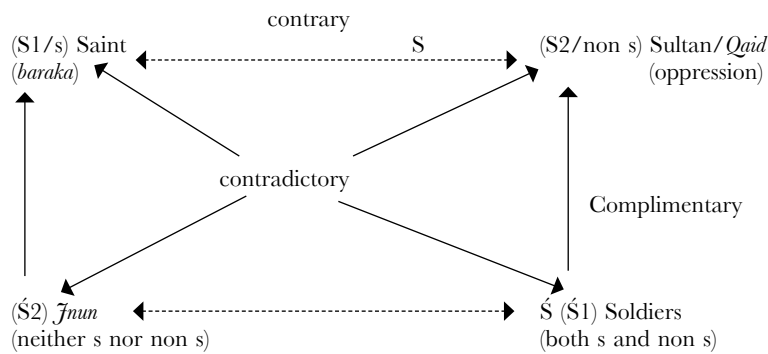


Fig. 9

In the first legend, *baraka* is contrary to oppression in that it is life sustaining and oppression is life destroying. Oppression is embodied in the Sultan I-Kḥal, a notorious oppressive figure, who used to behead his opponents. The complex term “soldiers” combines *baraka* and oppression (S1+ non S1),²¹ it does so precisely by joining the opposed minimal units in S vs. non S, the life sustaining aspect of *baraka* and the life-destroying aspect of repression. In other words, soldiers may destroy rebels so that the Sultan and his subjects live peacefully. As for the neutral term *ḵnun*, it suggests itself as the absence of repression and the contrary of soldiers. *Ḵnun* are neither life sustaining nor life destroying (neither S nor non S). These are neutral forces either at the saint’s disposal because of the *baraka* he has, or at the sorcerer’s disposal because of the evil power he wields.

The semiotic square charts the clear-cut dichotomy between the natural/physical and the metaphysical/religious. The earthly power of the Sultan is evinced as oppressive and unjust while the metaphysical power of the saint as neutral and just. These legends are therefore reflections of the wishes of the subalterns. The Buḥfi stories may attract the poor and illiterate segments of the population who suffer social and political mistreatment. This means that a community imagines supernatural powers of redemption (like saints) when it is disabled and does not trust the abilities of its members to stand their ground and face the social and political impediments that shackle their freedom to act. The Sultan I-Kḥal and Ben Yeffu may be read as respective symbols of domination and justice in their own social context. These two figures belong to two opposite historical paradigms. The paradigm of domination includes Sultans, *qāids*, *shaykhs*, *muqaddems*, fathers, settlers and *makhzenis*. The paradigm of justice includes Allah, the Prophet, saints, heroes, and *mujahids*.

From an ideological perspective, the two legends may be considered as discourses of subversion. They degrade authority; suspend hierarchical ranks, privileges, norms and prohibitions. They are carnivalesque in the sense that they celebrate a moment of liberation from the yoke of domination by mocking and deriding its figures. In the same vein, Stallybrass and White maintain:

²¹ The letter S is an abbreviation of the word *seme*. “This minimal unit...has no existence on its own and can be imagined and described only in relation to something that it is not, inasmuch as it is only part of a structure of signification” (Schleifer, 1987, p. 27).

one of the essential ways of describing carnival focuses upon the ritual inversions that it habitually involves... This reversible world and world upside down (WUD) encodes ways that carnival inverts: the everyday hierarchies, structures, rules and customs of its social formation. Status degradation through exposure of the grotesque aspects of the body and exorbitant exaggeration of its features is an essential aspect of this. (1986, p. 183)

So, the ritual inversion the first legend involves is embodied in its representation of a topsy-turvy world that transgresses the boundaries of the high and the low. The Sultan, as a classical body, finds himself at the mercy of the saint. The degradation of his authority is depicted in a gradual narrative process. First there is the saint's challenge of the *makhzeni*, the emissary of the Sultan. This challenge is represented by the saint's ignorance of the *makhzeni*'s authority. He addresses him not as a *makhzeni* but as the Sultan's slave: "go and tell your master: You're a Sultan and I am a Sultan and he whom Allah takes by hand may stand up!" The saint here sends a clear message to the Sultan l-Khal; his power is inspired by Allah and thus is immune to any harm or defeat.

The confrontation scene is carnivalesque in the real sense of the word. The popular version of the legend depicting the Sultan, lifted by a jinni with seven heads, and saying *tslim* ("I surrender"), is more transgressive than the first version that ends up on a tone of reconciliation between the saint and Sultan. The Sultan l-Khal is reduced to a weak common man begging the saint's forgiveness. He no longer frightens his foes. That he has fled in panic is also a legendary defeat that is still carved in the memory of the Buffi community. Also, the jinni with seven heads embodies the phobic inversion of the carnivalesque icon. It threatens the high with the ferocity of the low. The classical body is distorted and transformed to a recalcitrant other to trouble the dreams and phantasies of the high.

The saint's surpassing power may also be observed in the total submission of patients/*jnun* to his commands. At his shrine, one may hear patients saying while exorcised "*al-fū ya Ben Yeffū*" (Mercy! Oh! Ben Yeffū!). In the Buffi social context, this formula signifies that the jinni is pleading forgiveness because he is beaten into obedience by the *shrif*, the descendent of the Sultan. Another formula reiterated by the *shurfa* is "*nta rak daba fi ḥmayat Ben Yeffū*" (you are now under Ben Yeffū's guardianship). The sign *al-ḥimāya* pronounced by the Buffis as *ḥmaya* is part of the vocabularies associated with the Makhzen. Only the

Makhzen is the one who can provide *al-ḥimāya* for people. Similarly, the French colonizer labeled his occupation of Morocco as “protectorate” (*al-ḥimāya*). That the saint acquires the same cultural attribute explains his social function in a world marked by all sorts of domination. The sign *al-ḥimāya* is part of a Sultanic discourse reiterated by Oulad Ben Yeffu to convince people that the saint, as a Sultan, should be respected and obeyed. The social significance of such assertions is that if people accept the saint’s protection, they automatically accept the system of authority he represents. The social discriminations concomitant with the Sultan’s rule are naturalized in this social context. Domination is no longer discernible because the ritual of *al-ḥimāya* validates it. In this way, the social distinctions of power are sustained in society.²²

The second legend also derides the authority of the *qadi*. It decentres it and re-affirms the *baraka* of the saint. The degradation of authority is represented by the attack the jinni launches on the *qadi*’s son, which results in the *qaid*’s cancelling of his orders. The power of the Makhzen is portrayed as worthless in front of the saint’s power. The power of *baraka* seems to be eternal since it works whether the saint is dead or alive. The most grotesque scene in the legend is that of the *makhzeni* carrying the sheep “on his neck” (*la gfa-h*) [meaning shoulders]. In Moroccan Arabic, it is linguistically acceptable to refer to someone carrying something on his neck. The word *l-gfa* has a feminine connotation when combined with words like beating or falling. If one is slapped on his neck, it means that he is belittled, defeated, weakened, and feminised. So, the image of the *makhzeni* carrying the sheep on his *neck* actually belittles his status and that of all figures of authority (Makhzen) participating in the story. Oulad Ben Yeffu, as the legend says, must have their own rule and no earthly authority should meddle with their affairs. This is the tone the second legend ends on. The *qadi*’s sacrifice at the threshold of the shrine is but a ritual of acknowledgment he pays to the saint’s power over his own territory.

Both legends may be opened up to a divergent process of signification (see Derrida’s method of reading, 1974, 1978). They may also signify that the earthly authority of the Makhzen can only thrive with the permission (*al-idn*) of saints. If this authority is not blessed by the *baraka* of saints it is doomed to failure. This interpretation may be

²² This echoes a stereotypical post-colonial expression reiterated by some Moroccans: “the Makhzen is *shrif*. It gives us protection (*al-ḥimāya*).”

given to the scene of the lifted Sultan in the first legend. Can't we interpret the act of lifting the Sultan as a symbolic act of elevating him to a higher rank? Historically this is true, especially in the Marinid age when most Sultans reigned with the support of *shurfa*. The latter helped them unify as well as pacify the tribes (see Historical Origins). Another example is that of the *shurfa* of Wazzan who were more influential than sultans. On coming to the throne, the latter used to seek their blessing. Westermarck alludes to "a saying that although no Wazzan *shereef* can rule as sultan, no sultan can rule without the support of the great *shereef* of Wazzan" (1926, p. 38). Westermarck heard that in Fez when the new Sultan mounted his horse during the allegiance ceremony, the head of the Wazzan *shurfa* living in the place where he was proclaimed would hold the stirrup and help him mount his horse, thus bestowing on him the *baraka* of Dar Ḍmana, Wazzan. This story echoes the Buffi legend of lifting the Black Sultan though the Buffis give it a divergent interpretation.

On the whole, shall we consider these tales as discourses of anti-establishment in the Buffi social context? Are they forms of protest against the established political order? From an ideological perspective, these legends, like the Sultanic discourse the Buffi healers engage in during the healing process, actually reinforce the monarchic institution by naturalizing the asymmetrical social relations existing in society. Institutional domination is established and sustained through the strategy of narrativization. As narratives, these legends are reproduced to naturalize the asymmetrical social relations. They serve to reinforce the apparent order of things. They function as licensed outlets intended to relieve the accumulated hostilities of the subalterns. After the special joyful moment of becoming the legend gives them, the legend-consumers are thrust back again into a world of institutionalised inequalities with the Sultan at the top followed by the social strata of notables and *shurfa*. But the commoners are as usual at the base of the social pyramid with a fresh disposition to accept the customary hierarchical mode of existence.

These legends evince a carnivalesque touch though they emanate from a religious background. Carnival is a form of social control of the low by the high and thus serves the interests of the official culture that it apparently opposes. Certainly, carnival, as Eagleton maintains, "is a licensed affair, a permissible rupture of hegemony, a contained popular blow-off as disturbing and relatively ineffectual" (cit. in Stallybrass & White, 1986, p. 13). With Bakhtin (1968), we may suggest that the

carnavalesque spirit aims at social change by subverting authority and making the difference between Sultan and fellah appear as arbitrary and merely a compulsory convention. Yet, such conventions are reproduced by a variety of mechanisms, from ideology to arms, which often make the impetus for equality at the heart of carnival nothing more than an inoffensive licensed relief. The legends in this sense are a form of contained antagonism against hegemony. They offer their consumers a moment of joyful becoming by regarding themselves as part of a more powerful system—the Buḡfi maraboutic order. The legends may offer them the opportunity to identify themselves with the saint and thus may introject the maraboutic characters and situations into their imaginative world. The legends may fuel in them the persistent hope for the capacity of distributing centres of power and prosperity to fulfil their wishes despite the social decline to which they may be daily exposed.

In fact, such legends play the role of discharge channels. They are vehicles for disciplining and policing protest. They are socially acceptable avenues of subverting authority and deriding its figures. Similar to the joking discourse, these are part of a ritualised discourse based on a containment policy in which hegemony permits the ritual inversions of hierarchy and status degradation in order to re-affirm the apparent order of things. As Balandier succinctly puts it, “The supreme ruse of power is to allow itself to be contested ritually in order to consolidate itself more effectively” (cit. in Stallybrass & White, 1986, p. 14).

The maraboutic institution has in fact been regarded as a cultural pillar in consolidating the power of the sultan. History reveals that the sultanic institution has been offering saints donations and decrees of honour and respect to help them maintain the infrastructure of their maraboutic institutions. Sharifian families were, and still are, notable families given a special treatment by monarchs. Let us consider the example of Ben Yeffu and see how his sharifian descendents were held in high esteem by the ‘Alawite Sultans.

F. *Royal Donations* (in‘am)

In the nineteenth century, the most important gifts *zawiyas* received in return for the services they offered the Sultanate were the *iqṭa‘* (land properties). Those gift properties called *in‘am/hiba* usually reinforced the allegiance of *zawiyas* and evinced the Sultan as a symbol of protection (*ri‘āya/ḥimāya*) and charity (*ni‘ma*) (Hammoudi, 2000, pp. 76–7). Those

pieces of land, called *ʿzibs*, had the advantage of being exempted from the institutional alms tax. Their owners received decrees from the Sultan to be honored and respected (“*ḍahirs li ttawqir wa l-iḥtirām*,” “decrees of honor and respect”).

As for donation decrees, they allowed the *shurfa* to exploit the land and its occupants. As Halim argues, “*la concession portait sur la terre et sur ses occupants que le souverain livrait au concessionnaire; d’où leur nom de ‘msellmin’ (livrés). Ces derniers dépendaient, désormais, complètement de leur maître*” (2000, p. 137). Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the occupants, *ʿazabbs* (tenant farmers), could not leave without the *sharif*’s permission. Escaping from the *sharif*’s domain was considered as escaping from the Sultan’s domain. The *sharif* could lend his *ʿazabbs* to another *sharif* for a particular period but could neither sell them, nor offer them, nor yet hire them (Michel, 2001, p. 113).

It was within those given circumstances that Sidi Yahya’s notable family was highly treated by ‘Alawite Sultans. It had particularly strong connections with the Sultan Mulay al-Hasan I. The grandfather Sidi Bu’li lived under the guardianship (*himāya*) of that Sultan free from taxes, cultivating the land of *iqtaʿ*. During the Sultan ‘Abdelaziz’s reign, Sidi Bu’li benefited from a new Sultanic gift. He was permitted to manage the revenues of the souk of al-Ghrabiya. All those privileges given to his family were ordained by *ḍahirs* (decrees) given by different Sultans (see Appendix I):

1. *ḍahir* of 1292 A.H./1875 C.E. decreed by the Sultan Mohammed Ben ‘Abderahman: it renewed the *ḍahirs* Oulad Ben Yeffu had received from the previous Sultans and put emphasis on their being honored and respected (*ttawqir wa l-iḥtirām*).
2. *ḍahir* of 1300 A.H./1882 C.E. decreed by the Sultan al-Hasan I: it renewed the *ḍahirs* Oulad Ben Yeffu had received from the previous Sultans and put emphasis on their being honored and respected. Yet the *ḍahir* seems to be particularly addressed to Sidi Bu’li and his brother since both are named in person in the *ḍahir*. Also the decree refers to exempting Sidi Bu’li’s family from taxes.
3. *ḍahir* of 1303 A.H./1885 C.E. decreed by the Sultan al-Hasan I: it renewed the *ḍahirs* Oulad Ben Yeffu had received from the previous Sultans and put emphasis on their being honored and respected.
4. *ḍahir* of Muḥarram, 1304 A.H./1886 C.E. decreed by the Sultan al-Hasan I: it was an epistle that confirmed the Sultan’s reception of the *khars* list and in which the Sultan asked Sidi Bu’li to parcel the collected wheat and barley, and send it to the governor of the Sultan in El Jadida so that he could ship it from the port there.

5. *ḍahir* of Du al-hijja, 1304 A.H./1886 C.E. decreed by the Sultan al-Hasan I: it was an epistle addressed mainly to the administrators of the Makhzen. It seemed that Sidi Bu'li had sent a written protest to the Sultan accusing the administrators of making him liable to taxation. The Sultan re-affirmed in that *ḍahir* that Sidi Bu'li ought to be tax-exempted.
6. *ḍahir* of 1313 A.H./1895 C.E. decreed by the Sultan 'Abdelaziz: it announced that the souk of al-Gharbiya was no longer under the Makhzen's jurisdiction and permitted Sidi Bu'li to manage its revenues without contest.
7. *ḍahir* of 1315 A.H./1897 C.E. decreed by the Sultan 'Abdelaziz: It ordered Sidi Bu'li to send the Sultan a copy of the *ḍahir* that confirmed his tenure of the landed property called Ttašekht and al-Ghur.
8. *ḍahir* of 1325 A.H./1907 C.E. decreed by the Sultan 'Abdelhafid: it renewed the *ḍahirs* Oulad Ben Yeffu had received from the previous Sultans and put emphasis on their being honored and respected.
9. *ḍahir* of 1367 A.H./1947 C.E. decreed by the Sultan Mohammed V: it renewed the *ḍahirs* Oulad Ben Yeffu had received from the previous Sultans and put emphasis on their being honored and respected.

From all decrees presented here it is clear that Sidi Bu'li's kinfolk were very powerful in the region. They laid hands on the most advantageous areas and brought the Buffi society under control. This status quo was to last till Sidi Yaḥya's withdrawal from his position of *muqaddem* around 1995. What is the secret behind the high prestige of this family? How come that Sidi Bu'li was honored by the Sultan al-Hasan I? The answer to these questions is conveyed in two oral versions; one may be termed practical and the other legendary.

First Version: Sidi Yaḥya's family comes from Oulad Griṭ, a *duwar* in Rḥamna. Their grandfather Sidi Bu'li al- Baghluli was appointed at Dar al-Makhzan in Marrakech. He used to tame mules (*bghāl*). When he completed his duty, he asked for a favour from the Sultan al-Hasan I. The latter rewarded him with *ḍahirs* permitting him to collect *al-kharṣ* in the area of al-Gharbiya. Thus started his settlement at Ben Yeffu and his claim for the Buffi lineage. Before al-Hasan I, there was no tent named after the family in the region.²³

Second Version: During the times of *siba* (social dissidence), the Makhzen used to recruit people in *al-ḥarka*.²⁴ The *qaid* Ben Darqawi (perhaps that

²³ It is a story told by an educated government worker. He heard it from two octogenarian eminent people of the region, Ben 'Aicha from Duwar al-Bribrat, al-Gharbiya and 'Ali Ben Taher from Tingert.

²⁴ It is also named *al-meḥalla*. According to Montagne, "*la 'harka' ou la 'meḥalla' du Sultan n'intervient généralement en tribu que pour combler les vides du Trésor*" (1930, p. 372).

was his name), called Sidi Bu'li to participate in the *ḥarka*. When the troop of soldiers reached the region where there was the uprising, they heard that the Sultan al-Hasan I was sick with pangs in his legs. The *qaid*s were called to see him. Ben Darqawi who was among them told the Sultan that the *shurfa* from Oulad Ben Yeffu could cure that pain (*ysebbu l-had al-alam*). He added that there was a Buffi present with them there in the *ḥarka*. The Sultan ordered him to bring the *shrif*. He was Sidi Bu'li. When he entered the palace and greeted the Sultan, the latter told him: "let me tell you this! All those things left by your ancestors and you still do, do them! Forget I am a Sultan!" The *shrif* took him by his legs, stretched them, trod upon him (*afsu*), exorcised him (*sar'u*) and told him that their ancestors set up conditions for *marad al-jenn* (jinn sickness). He should slaughter a sheep. The Sultan ordered on the spot for a sheep to be slaughtered. The *shrif* held the Sultan and made him stand up and walk. The Sultan felt better. Then he called the *qaid* and told him that the *shurfa* who had that divine gift (*ihaba*) should not be brought to the *ḥarka*. The *qaid* replied: "God bless my Lord's life, we bring them to rescue us (*Allah y-barek fi-mur sidi kan jibuhum bash kan tsghatu bihum*). Then the Sultan asked the *shrif* about his lineage. Sidi Bu'li told him that he and his brother were descendents of Ben Yeffu. The Sultan gave them a *dahir* of honor and respect. Then Sidi Bu'li was appointed as *muqqadem* of the *darih* (shrine) and *amin* (supervisor) of the *kharṣ* of the Sultan in al-Gharbiya. He would collect all the harvest portions given by the fellahs of the region and put them in *al-mars* or *maṣmuras*, (air-tight underground safe) before shipping them to the Sultan via the port of El Jadida (see the *dahir* No. 4).²⁵

These two oral versions of the story of Sidi Bu'li's acquisition of the Buffi power illustrate how narrativization constructs the social hierarchy in a particular community and naturalizes the apparent social order. The second tale naturalizes the asymmetrical social relations between the Buffi community and Sidi Bu'li's family. In that feudal social context, such stories were intended to reinforce the yoke of domination exerted by Sidi Bu'li's family on the small fellahs. It was said that when the *shurfa* had to work in Sidi Bu'li's fields, their sweat when falling on the ground started fires they had to trample, a myth that indicates the injustice people suffered during those times. To lure more and more labourers to work for them voluntarily and rule over a whole community of *shurfa*, Sidi Bu'li's descendents constructed their own legends about their *baraka* to create an order of followers. Some common *shurfa* still claim that Sidi Bu'li was a *wali* Allah (a friend of

²⁵ A story told by three healers.

God). The most recent tale I have heard about the *baraka* of his family is about the birth of one of their sons. The son himself told me that on the day of his birth, some *shurfā* said that a jinni appeared to his father and gave him 700 dh. The folks interpreted that as an index of the son's forthcoming greatness. Indeed, the son is now in a well-paid position, but he himself discards the story as a form of superstition in the pejorative sense of the word. He maintains that his grandfather was but an *iqṭa'i* (feudalist) who served his own interests and those of the Makhzen, bereaving so many fellahs of their land and harvest for the sake of growing his own fortune.

The author of the first version holds a similar opinion by maintaining that Sidi Bu'li's duty of collecting *al-kharṣ* in al-Gharbiya was assigned to him by the Sultan al-Hasan I after he had finished his duty of mule-taming in Marrakech. In other words, Sidi Bu'li, according to him, was alien to the Buffi lineage. This version, despite whether it is probable or not, is also constructed in terms of a narrativization strategy. It plays on the significance of the proper names used in the narrative. Let us first consider the choice of the word "Rḥamna" in the story. That Sidi Bu'li, the *shrif* by decree, comes from Duwar Oulad Griṭ in Rḥamana seems to degrade his authority and reduce his prestige. The stereotypical conception of the Raḥmani ethnic group in Doukkala is that they are marked by poverty, hybridism and short size. So, Sidi Bu'li's social status is cast in doubt and even challenged. Another proper name questioned in the story is Sidi Bu'li's surname—al-Baghluli. Though this is a fictitious name, it is still relevant to the interpretation given at this stage. Is this name given to the person inadvertently or is it a social denomination related to the work he used to do before coming to Ben Yeffu? Al-Baghluli as a full name is derived from the word *al-baghl* (mule), so Sidi Bu'li might have been nicknamed after his job. He might have been a muleteer, owner, merchant, or tamer of mules. The story therefore tries to identify his social status from the social attributes of his surname. Name-giving in this sense is not innocent, and may refer to the work Sidi Bu'li was doing before coming to Ben Yeffu. All in all, the story manures the ground for many questions to be asked, though it seems to be constructed from an offensive standpoint.

In sum, the Buffi social relations are informed by the paradigm of domination and submission. This paradigm, as it is rooted in the Buffis' worldview, can also be observed in the struggle for the management of the shrine. The following section will shed more light upon this paradigm by describing the contest between the ex-*mezwar*'s family

and the rest of the *shurfa*, especially the *hufdan*, regarding the problem of administration. Why has Sidi Yahya withdrawn from his position of *mezwar/muqaddem*? How was his father's period as a *mezwar*? How is now the situation without an acknowledged *mezwar*? These and other questions related to the various aspects of organization of the shrine will be discussed subsequently.

G. Organization

The shrine is managed by the *hufdan* (sing. *hfid*). The term *hafid* in classical Arabic means "grandson." It is also akin to the Arabic word *hāfid* in the sense of guardian, watcher, or someone who knows the Qur'an by heart. To put these meanings together, we may say that the word (*hfid*) means that the *darih* is taken charge of by the descendents of the saint. These belong to the eight descendent tribes (*fakhdas*). From each tribe, only five or six *shurfa* are entitled to master the "turn" (*nuba*) at the shrine. The *nuba* is inherited from father to son. Since there are eight tribes, there are eight *nubas*. The word "*nuba*" refers to the assembly of "representatives" (*nouab*) of the lineages. Each lineage has its own *nouab* who take the *nuba* at the shrine. The *nuba* also refers to the period the *hfid* spends at the shrine. This period lasts for a week starting from Tuesday and consists of running the shrine's affairs and receiving gifts (*zyaras*) from visitors. The *hfid* may be a Qur'an reciter (*taleb*) or an illiterate person because the duty is inherited. The rest of the *shurfa* who are not *hufdan* can exorcise jinns with the permission of the *hufdan* but cannot run the shrine's affairs. Normally, they neither shoulder a responsibility nor practice a ritual at the shrine. The only *non-hufdan shurfa* who are permitted to squeeze a living at the shrine are those poor descendents who are reduced to cleaning the floor, waiting on visitors and the *hufdan* in order to squeeze a living.

A general observation about the *hufdan* is that most of them are aged between 40 and 60; a few of them have reached their 90's, especially those who come from al-Ghlat. Also, many of them have sufficient resources of living. They come to their *nuba* because they have inherited it from their fathers and feel liable to perpetuate the tradition of curing jinn sicknesses at their own shrine. From each *fakhda*, 5 or 6 *hufdan* come to the *nuba*. They may come from the same *duwar* or from different regions. For those who come from a far (14km/25km), they sleep in one of the cells at the shrine for the whole week and are

provided for by one of the *hufdan* from the same *nuba*, living in the neighbourhood. If a *hfid* dies and does not have male inheritors, it is his wife who receives his share from the *futuḥāt* (singular *futḥ*). She does not have to go to the shrine. The *hufdan* send the share to her place. If a *hfid* proves to be a misfit or a wrong-doer (thief, fraudulent, sinful, etc.), the local authorities may banish him from the shrine on the basis of the *hufdan*'s testimonies.

During the *moussem*, the organization of the *nuba* undergoes a change. All teams sit inside the shrine, each team putting its box of *futuḥāt* (money given for healing services) in front of its members. The *muqaddems* of all *nubas* meet at the end of the day and divide the *futuḥāt* collected by each *nuba* into eight equal shares. Then, each *muqaddem* goes to his *nuba* and divides the share among the *hufdan*. Also, the *nubas* tip the local authorities—*makhzenis* and gendarmes—who protect them. As for the money collected by *al-jama'a al-qarawiya* (the rural elected board of the region) during the *moussem* from taxes on merchants and vehicle drivers, no one has an idea about how it is used. The *shurfa* are still negotiating with the authorities to benefit from such revenues so as to cover the expenses of their *moussem*. In 2003, for instance, had a member of Sidi Yahya's family not volunteered to provide personally for the inauguration ceremony of the *moussem* that was presided by the Governor of the Province, it would not have been held.

It seems that the organization of the shrine is also regulated by the dialectic of domination and submission. This dialectic informs the Buffi's personal, social and political relations. Within this maraboutic frame, there are *shurfa* who dominate others. Their dominance is endorsed by their wealth and power. The notable families who dominated in the past have bequeathed their dominance to their descendents up to the present. It is obvious that the *nuba* in Moroccan shrines is a discriminatory system that excludes the rest of the *shurfa* from sharing the revenues of the *baraka* of the saint. What about the rest of the Buffi families who also descend from the saint and do not benefit from the income of the shrine? There are families who may actually deserve these *futuḥāt* because of their poor social status. This system is neither based on freedom of choice nor on even access to the resources of the shrine. It is a hereditary system based on exclusion (no need to refer to this as a cultural schema in Moroccan social and political life).

Another hereditary system operating within this maraboutic institution is the patrilineal administration of the shrine's affairs. Theoretically, the *hufdan* belonging to the eight tribes elect a *muqaddem* (also called

mezwar) as their leader. The *muqaddem* is usually “chosen” on the basis of his adeptness to represent the *hufdan*, speak on their behalf, reconcile their disputes and run the affairs of the shrine. Sometimes, the *muqaddem* receives a royal decree legitimizing his duty. But the history of the administration of the shrine shows that the *mezwar*s who presided over the *hufdan* in the past were neither chosen nor elected. They had access to those positions of control by virtue of their wealth and power. Sidi Yahya’s family, for instance, inherited the position of *muqaddem* from father to son thanks to their wealth, influential contact with the authorities and higher social rank in the region. The last *mezwar* from this family to be overthrown by the *hufdan* was described as less powerful and less affluent than his grandfathers. So, the paradigm of power (wealth+powerful connections) informs the Buffis’ relations with one another. They yield to the *mezwar* guardian who can protect them from the cumbersome interventions of the Makhzen and help them better their social conditions. If this charismatic leader turns out to be absent, which is the case at present, confusion and upheaval will prevail. The Buffis do not seem to be accustomed to the tradition of dialogue.

For the time being, there is a fierce battle having effect among the *hufdan* upon who should run the affairs of the shrine after Sidi Yahya’s withdrawal in 1995. The social collective is cleft because of this struggle for power. Everyone wants to be a leader. Had the *hufdan* gathered with the help of other *shurfa* and discussed their conflicts, they would not have reached this stalemated disparity. They rather form alliances and prosecute each other at court. They address each other in terms of familiar symbols of authority like the Makhzen (the court), *ṣulṭa* (the Caïd), *jadarmiya* (the Gendarmerie), *al-‘amel* (the mayor of the city), and *diwan al-malaki* (“the royal court”). This is a linguistic repertoire that seems to be policed (high vs. low vocabulary), which shows that the predominant form of communication among the Buffis is domination, exerting pre-eminence over one another as if they were rehearsing their master-slave drama of jinn eviction.

To delineate how the dichotomy of dominance and subservience works in the Buffi community, I quote here a story narrated by a *hfid* who suffered an instance of abuse by the ex- *mezwar* around the 1980’s. The *hfid* says:

By virtue of the decrees delivered to them by al-Hasan I and other ‘Alawite Sultans, Sidi Yahya’s family inherited the leadership of the *hufdan* for generations. They were *muqaddems* from father to son. The last one to be dethroned by the *hufdan* was Sidi Yahya Ben Sidi Bu‘azza (a pseudonym is attributed to the father). Both father and son did not have decrees to

command the *hufdan*. Sidi Bu'azza had been on speaking terms with the authorities and the *hufdan*, so no problem had been raised. As for his son, he did not have any strong contacts with the authorities. Moreover, he was too rude with the *hufdan*. He charged them a lot of money during each *nuba*, and wrote to everyone who protested a letter of dismissal. The *hufid* had to take him a bag of sugar or a sheep in order to propitiate his anger.

I was once victim of his abuse. I protested against recruiting a *hufid* from another *nuba* in my *nuba*. The *hufid* was Sidi Yahya's friend. The following day, I received a letter of dismissal. I was too frightened by far. And no one from my friends in the *nuba* dared to defend me. A friend from another *nuba* decided to accompany me on my errand to Sidi Yahya's dwelling, thinking that I would take to the *mezwar* an offering to appease his anger. I explained to him that I was going to the *mezwar* to complain to him about his misconduct rather than to implore him for mercy. I thought that was my right. But my friend was too scared to accompany me, so he withdrew.

I went alone. I reached the *mezwar*'s threshold at dawn. I found the door closed. I waited for the other farm-doors to be open, and then knocked at the *mezwar*'s door. I did not find him there. Sidi Yahya's mother informed me that her son traveled to Marrakech to see a doctor for her grandson was sick. Then, I decided to go to see the *qaid* in al-Oualidiya. There the *shaykh* of the tribe told me that the *qaid* would not be concerned with my case if I did not give him money. I was poor then and could not give him more than 200 dh. The *qaid* welcomed me, and wrote a notice to the *hufdan*, explaining to them that I should resume my duty and remain with them. Then, he summoned the *muqaddem* and his attendants to come to his office. That was the beginning of the decline of Sidi Yahya's reputation. Later on, the *hufdan* made a lawsuit at the court and Sidi Yahya did not show any documents to prove that he was a *muqaddam* save for the old decrees addressed to his grandfather. So, he was removed.

Whether Sidi Yahya used to send letters of dismissal to them, or whether he used to receive sheep or sugar as pardoning gifts is not to be regarded as a verifiable piece of information. Rather it is saying something. It expresses a social sentiment such as the need for mutual support between the *hufdan* and the *mezwar*. Some of the *hufdan* even accuse Sidi Yahya who inherited the duty of *mezwar* after the death of his father in 1980's of not being as fair as his father. They say that he imposed on them 150 dh. per year for each *nuba*, and designed a friend of his to sit with each *nuba* to take a share on his behalf. Unlike his father who used to collect money from the *hufdan* (50 dh. per *nuba*), as they say, and use it for the benefit of the collective by restoring the edifice of the shrine, Sidi Yahya, according to some *hufdan*, seems to have collected the money for himself and neglected the others. According to one of Sidi Yahya's sons, such statements are baseless allegations

intended to harass their folks. He claims that their family members were and still are concerned with the improvement of the welfare of the Buffi community, but it is decreed that they go unrequited. Of course, we are not concerned here with Sidi Yahya's personal social conduct towards the *hufdan* but rather with how it is represented in the Buffi popular mind. Two members of the same family—father and son—are not represented in the same way among some of the Buffis. The father is held in high esteem while the son is reduced to oblivion though they could have run the shrine's affairs in a comparable way. After all, the father could have also benefited from his position of *mezwar*.

However, he is represented by the Buffis as a leader who lived up to the standards of his own power. Unlike his son, he is said to have never misused the shrine's revenues. A discussion with the *hufdan* representing al-Ghلامat (Sidi Yahya's kinfolk) reveals that they cherish Bu'azza's time. They say,

Everything was best organised during Sidi Bu'azza's time. He was a real *mezwar*. Everything was under control. Now only the *khelfas* remain [*khelfas* is a metaphor; it alludes to the second crop that is not as good as the first]. The present *hufdan* are like the second crop of mint. If you grow mint and you cut off the first shoots, a second crop comes up, but it is not as good as the first.

True, most of the *hufdan* have good reminiscences of Sidi Bu'azza's time (1960's). He was a strong charismatic personality who ruled the shrine's affairs with power and wealth. He had *al-ihaba* (respect and awe), they say. The Buffis hold on to the belief that the *mezwar* should be real *mezwar*, and the *qaid* should be real *qaid* in that they should impose their authority without being exposed to challenge. This explains the use of the word *khelfas* above; that is; to-day's leaders lack the *ihaba*. For instance, unlike Sidi Bu'azza, his son Sidi Yahya is said to be a weak leader because he is neither rich enough nor is his authority backed up by the Makhzen. The *ihaba*, in this case, is inspired by "power and wealth" (*al-jah u al-mal*). The Buffis seem to expect from their leader to incarnate the notion of the Patriarch: "guardianship and rule" (*al-hmaya u al-hkam*). His commands must be obeyed while he perpetuates the privileges of the *hufdan*. In short, the Buffis construct their image of the leader as the shepherd of the flock who guides it to a fruitful grazing land and protects it from predators. The metaphor of the shepherd evokes the juxtaposition of absolute dominance of the shepherd and absolute submission of the herd.

H. Shrine Income

At Ben Yeffu, as is the tradition, the *ḥufḍan* sit in the “court” (*maḥkama*) and receive the *zyara*—candles—(the gift of pilgrimage) from visitors. People buy candles from the nearby shops and take them to the shrine to offer to the saint. As for the *futuḥ*, it is a sum of money tendered by the visitors to the *ḥufḍan* for the sacred service they perform. It is a covert tip given by the visitor or patient to the *fqiḥ* who takes it and says: “Allah compensates for you (*Allah y-khleḥ 'lik*)” after doing the patient a sacred service. If the *ḥufḍan* exorcise some jinn possessed patients and these get cured, the patients become indebted to the saint and may bring an offering called (*al-marḥuda*) to the *ḥufḍan* as the custom goes. In the past this would be the sacrifice of an animal according to ones’ means (at least a sheep or even a heifer) that would be divided among the descendents of the saint and their poor attendants. Also, big couscous meals were prepared with the meat. Nowadays, sacrifices are no longer encouraged neither by the jinni nor by the *fqiḥ*. It is the money (equal to the price of a sheep) that is asked for. Tradition has changed. If a sacrifice happens to be slaughtered at present time, the meat is divided into shares (*gur'as*) and taken home by the *ḥufḍan*.

The weekly *futuḥat* of the saint may be estimated at 200 dh. per week for each *ḥufḍ* in the *nuba*. During the *moussem*, the *futuḥat* may reach 500 dh. per *ḥufḍ*; the number of patients increase and so do the revenues of the shrine. The *moussem* seems to be an occasion during which the *ḥufḍan* and other *shurfa* attempt to squeeze a living by accumulating more profits from doing sacred services to visitors and patients alike. It is an occasion during which the Buffis strike relationships with visitors and grow commercial transactions like selling for instance all types of *baruk*—objects endowed with the *baraka* of the saint. In addition to these revenues, there are gifts and *marḥudas* given to the saint by convalescent patients. The price of these gifts may vary from 200 dh. to 1000 dh. Also, there are donations given by charitable people and the King. Each year, the King offers the *tulba* (Qur'an reciters) at Ben Yeffu 50,000 dh. that they share collectively under the supervision of the local authorities in al-Oualidiya (this tradition began few years ago). A princess from the United Arab of Emirates, also dispatches yearly rewards to the Buffis by equipping their new *jama*.²⁶ There is also an

²⁶ The story of the princess runs that her son had been semi-handicapped and was

accumulated capital derived from *ard jmu'* (forests and grazing land belonging to the saint), and that is still at Oulad Ben Yeffu's disposal. Some of that capital was used thanks to Sidi Yahya's sons' follow-ups in connecting the Duwars of Mwalin al-Kudya to the electricity network, and the rest is said to be held in abeyance by the government because, as I said before, Oulad Ben Yeffu are usually at loggerheads. The leader with the *ihaba* is still missing!

What do the *hufdan* do with the shrine's revenues, *marfudas* and *futuhat*? They divide them on the spot and use the money for personal interests. Thus, the maintenance of the shrine is not funded by a local budget. When they want to do some repairs, they start begging charitable people to do it. As a matter of fact, the social collective fabric is totally cleft at Ben Yeffu. The *hufdan* hardly think in collective terms.

In sum, the Buffi identity seems to be shaped within a cultural frame structured by the juxtaposition of authority and submission. The Buffis' maraboutic discourse—legends, folktales, folk poetry and curing discourse—accounts for the shape and scope of the contemporary structure of domination that molds their social interactions. In other words, the past social structures consisting of powerful saints, obedient followers, submissive *khuddam* and slaves still influence their worldview.

The following chapter will make it clear that the Buffi worldview is informed by the paradigm of power relations. It will describe the Buffi representation of the jinn world. The Buffis imagine jinns as social beings who are able to haunt people and control their actions. According to the Buffi mythological system, jinns are responsible for man's woe. Most of the calamities that befall people are thought to be caused by jinn attacks instigated by works of sorcery or mishaps. The Buffis claim their ability to control jinns and thus put themselves in the lead by being masters of the jinn world.

fully cured by a well-renowned Buffi *shrif*. The princess insisted on rewarding the *shrif* and requested him to make a wish she could fulfill. He told her that he would like to see his Grandfather's shrine surrounded by a nice mosque. The princess made an official visit to the area in 1987 and funded the building of the mosque in the same year. The princess still caters for the mosque's upkeep and offers wages to the prayer-leader, to the Friday prayer-leader, to the teacher at the Qur'anic sciences school, to the prayer-caller, to the preacher (*al-wā'iz*), to the caretaker and cleaner and to the three *tulba* or *hezababa*, whose duty is to read the Koran regularly at the mosque between prayers. The story of the mosque is one of the famous stories related by the Buffis about the miracles of their Progenitor.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BUFFI REPRESENTATION OF THE WORLD OF JINN

Generally speaking, three elements constitute the practice of jinn eviction: the belief that determines the moral or ritual condition of the healer; the rite, that is, what is actually done at the shrine; and the instruments used in the ritual like formulas, talismans, and *henna*. Before describing actual rites for jinn eviction at Ben Yeffu and instruments healers use to evict jinns, let us consider first the Buffis' representation of the jinn world because their practice of jinn eviction is determined by their magico-religious worldview.

A. *Jinn Attributes*

The Buffis seem to hold semi-institutionalized beliefs about *jnun*. They have consistent definitions of their nature and doings. Some of these definitions are grounded in institutional Islam and others are grounded in popular magic. In all the cases I have observed, the Buffis' beliefs play a practical role in providing a means of ordering and coordinating the healing practice at the shrine. These beliefs are a set of symbols corresponding to abstract ideas that it would be too complex for them to express directly. Moreover, these beliefs underlie the attachment of the Buffis to their particular symbols of power.

The Buffis think that jinns are fiendish and dangerous creatures. They are afraid to address them with the names *jenn* (sing.) or *jnun* (pl.). For them, calling jinns by such names is a means to invoke them. They attempt to avoid using proper names, especially after *al-ʿaṣer* prayer when these are thought to leave their subterranean abodes. They think that they may retaliate with brutal revenge. According to Westermarck, Moroccans use euphemistic words like *mluk* (the owners/masters), *sadatna* (our lords), *jwad* (the bountiful/generous), *mselmin* (Moslems), *mwalin al-arḍ* (the masters of the ground), *ryaḥ* (the winds) to refer to them for fear not to be harmed. In the Buffi maraboutic context, both healers and clients use such expressions to refer to them. They may also use expressions like *sukkan al-ʿammar* (occupying dwellers), *mwalin nuba* (masters of the turn), *llima kay dakrush* (those without names) to shirk the impending danger of calling them by their proper name, *jnun*.

In particular, the most popular names used in the Buffi maraboutic context are *mluk* and *mselmin*. The word *mluk* is the plural of the word *melk*. It is derived from the Arabic words *mālik* (owner)/*malik* (king) and the verb *malaka* in the sense of “possess.” Another word derived from the same root is *mlak* (property) used by *fqihs* and clients to refer to human sperm. “*Malak*” are those pieces of fabric women use to clean themselves after sexual intercourses. Cloths stained with sperm are considered key-magical instruments used in charming men towards women. Generally, the word *melk* has the sense of owner/master. The *melk* is the master of the corpse it haunts. The *shurfā* prefer to use the word to connote that they dominate the masters. Thus, they say that they deserve the submission of the *‘amma* (commoners) who are threatened by the danger of possession without exception. In the Buffi social context, the *shrif* is thought to be fortified by the *baraka* of his forefather though paradoxically enough most healers, I have observed, have suffered from *melk* possession. Also, Buffi families do have at least a son or daughter who is mentally sick. The explanations some healers give to this are that jinns who cannot attack the healer take revenge upon members of his family. Still, this seems to be contradictory because the family members are also *shurfā* and supposedly should be immunized (see my analysis below).

The word “*mselmin*” [Moslems] may be traced together with its cognate “*msellmin*” to a common ancestral verbal form “*salima*” meaning “to remain healthy; escape safely.” Another word related by derivation is “*taslim*,” “to preserve from evil; to surrender, submit.” Also, another word related by derivation is “Islam,” “to attain to safety; submit or resign one’s self to the will of God.” Thus, *mselmin* and *msellmin* (surrendering) refer to someone who surrenders to a power superior to oneself. The *mselmin* “submit to the power of God” and the *msellmin* are those “people who surrender to the power of saints.” When a maraboutic client presents himself in front of the saint, for instance, he says: “*ana taleb tslim*” (I ask to surrender!). From where does this meaning stem? As I have mentioned before, the history of the word “*msellmin*,” according to Halim, comes from the ritual of “royal donation” (*in‘am*) practiced by the Sultan towards saints. The donations saints used to receive included land and tenant farmers called *‘azzaba*. These were to be owned by the *shrif*. The term used was *msellmin*, that is, handed by the Sultan to the *shrif*. The royal decree stated that the *shrif* who was given the *‘zib* would exploit the land, its occupants and the harvest (see Halim, 2000, p. 137). The word “*msellmin*,” therefore, is loaded with a

history of bondage and servitude. The saints and their descendents have therefore exploited the masses of peasants for their own interest in the name of holiness. When the supplicant prostrates himself in front of the *sharif* speaking in the voice of the jinni and using the word *msellem*, he therefore reproduces the schema of domination and submission with its full history in a ritualised form and thus sustains its symbolic, political and social existence.

In the Buffi social world, jinns resemble human beings in various respects. They eat, drink, make sex and die. They like to eat unsalted food (*mesus*), or sweet foods (*hlu*).¹ They like to drink blood. They have a special fondness for women. They live in groups since there are cities and tribes of jinns. They are uncountable, of different types, different sexes, different religions and different races and speak different languages. They may speak through their human hosts or one may hear them as voices without shape. Sometimes one may see them. They assume the shape of humans or animals and appear to individuals. They usually assume such identities after *al-‘aṣer* (afternoon prayer). Here is a case of a healer haunted by a jinni that appeared to him at first in the form of an animal. He relates that

one day, he set up a trap in the forest and at dusk, he took three dogs and went to see whether the trap caught anything. On his way he saw a small dark cat, skin burnt, dragging along near a tree. He was very surprised since the dogs did not attack the cat. He immediately realized that it was not a real cat. He felt struck/touched (*hes brasu telmes*). He walked away very quickly glancing round. Another day, he went to Sidi Ahmed. There he saw a bitch that disappeared as soon as he wanted to chase it. Whenever he walked he saw dogs on his trail.

One day, a brother of his living in Casablanca invited his friends to Ben Yeffu. A woman came with them. When they were at home and she saw the *sharif*, she cried a hollow cry. His brother got up and started evicting the jinni out of her. The jinni told him: “I am a messenger. Your brother is sick. He has a woman. He is just frightened from her. She is in him for 12 years. Your grandfather does not cure his children. If your brother wants to be cured he should go to Sidi ‘Ali Ben Hamdush and take with him a gray hen.” One of his brother’s friends insisted that they should go to the saint recommended by the jinni.

¹ Salt has always been an essential item. It was needed for preserving food. Non-salted food decayed quickly, and people thought that spirits ate from it, which has led to the idea that to avert bad spirits, one has to use salt. Anything that contains salt is thought to be protected from jinn attack.

Before going with them to Meknes, the *shrif* had a dream. He was going to the *'ain* (spring) and met a female acquaintance. She told him: "I will go with you to the spring and I'll return from it with you." Then he understood that his journey to Meknes would be in vain. That's what happened. When he returned from Meknes to Casablanca, he felt worse.

Then, he came back to Ben Yeffu. There, he dreamt that he traveled to Safi. He found a garden and entered it. A caretaker came to him and told him that it was prohibited for the public and that he should pay 1, 200 *ryals* as a fine (that was the twelve years he spent in sickness). Then, an acquaintance came and helped him bargain with the caretaker till he let him free without paying the fine. Then, they walked to another garden, where there were all sorts of fruits. It was like paradise. His companion told him: "Do you know whose garden this is? This belongs to al-Haj Hmed. He has made it for his children to relax in it." There was also a green café near the garden. He sat there; perhaps he took something to drink perhaps not. Then, he woke up, woke his wife and told her that he felt better. His wife told him: "what have you seen?" he told her his vision. He also inferred that the son of Ben Yeffu could only be cured by the *baraka* of his ancestor. In a subsequent dream, he saw his daughter Fatima hit by a car and tried in court. Then he realized that the woman was tried and killed.

The story of the *shrif* shows how the magic worldview plays a major role in the patient's quest for cure. The *shrif* is a healer. He holds a firm belief in his grandfather's *baraka*. For this reason, he cannot fancy another magical power able to cure him. He experiences invisible jinn eviction like many other patients who are deeply immersed in the maraboutic culture to the extent that they delve in healing rituals on their own without the intervention of healers (for further details, see chap. 4).

Jinns do not only assume animal shape like in the story above but may materialize in the shape of human beings, assuming the identity (*ṣifa*) of a brother, or any other relative. They may live among human beings in disguise. If a mortal woman appeals to them, they may marry her and charm her to the extent that she can no longer consort with a man or (vice-versa). If she is married, she may divorce her husband. If newly married, she may become sterile. If virgin, she may lose her virginity. There are girls who believe that they are raped by "jinns" in disguise. In El Jadida, one of my students, Khadija told me that a jinni slept with her every night assuming the shape of her brother-in-law. After years of coitus, she doubted whether she was still a virgin. When she saw a doctor, he confirmed her doubts. She had lost her virginity. When I asked her whether she enjoyed sex with the "jinni,"

she shouted that she had been raped. It was an intercourse without her consent and chiefly by force. She even put me in a dilemma with her plaguing question: “if *mluk* do not exist, how come that I am not virgin any longer?” I explained to her that there were girls who might not be virgin by nature. She replied that the doctor discovered traces proving she had been a virgin but because the penetration was longstanding he could not specify exactly when she had lost it.

In the Buffi mythology, it is thought that jinns may also appear as half human and half animal. They may appear in a deformed human shape with camel legs, horse hoofs, or any other animal limbs, or may appear decapitated. The Buffi healers maintain that the eyes of the jinni exist in the host’s forehead. When they “blow” (*ybukhu*) on somebody in the forehead, the jinni replies: “*bghayti t’mini men ‘ayniya*” (You want to blind me!), meaning that his eyes are situated there. But the eyes of the Jewish jinni are believed to exist in the host’s fingernails. So the Buffi healer recites his incantations while holding the patient by one of his fingernails.

Jinns are also thought to be powerful creatures that may travel long distances in the twinkling of an eye. They may pass through walls, swim under seawater and reveal the future. The Buffi *fqihs* say that jinns may tell them about the whereabouts of gold but they never want to embark on an adventure to dig it forth for them—unlike Swahili jinns who “are said to gather gold for their Swahili owners who keep their jinni well fed with human blood” (McIntosh, 2004, p. 100). Informants say:

In the past, a man called Sidi Mohammed Ben Thami from the tribe of Dhahja wanted to go to pilgrimage and could not find the means. He was always facing the *Siyyed* and weeping. A *‘afrit* sent by the Sultan took him to Mekka. A poem was composed in this respect. Some of the verses go as follows:

1. I complained to my Lord with sorrowful eyes!
2. I wept in front of my Lord with sorrowful eyes!
3. He called a *‘afrit* restrained with his bridle!
4. To take the Haj to show him his destination!²

² The Arabic version reads as follows:

1. *shkit ‘la sidi u ‘yuni yddamu*
2. *bkit ‘la sidi u ‘yuni yddamu*
3. *‘ayet ‘la wahed al-‘afrit tayeh f-shkamu*
4. *yddi al-haj y-werrih mqamu*

The poetic lines portray the power of the saint and that of the *‘afrit* serving him. When under the rule of the saint, the jinni serves the welfare of human beings. This is a miracle Allah is thought to give to some of his chosen people. Not all human beings control jinns and tame them. Yet, according to Westermarck’s informants, there are *fqihs* who practice charms to invoke jinns and compel them to labour for them. But the *fqih* “must be a thoroughly good and pious man, who says his prayers regularly, observes his fast in Ramadan, refrains from alcoholic drinks, is faithful to his wife, and never lies or steals or commits any other wrong. Should he misbehave, the *jenn* would strike him” (1926, p. 353). This is completely opposite to the Buffis’ beliefs. They keep maintaining that they do not need to be pious or well informed in religious practices in order to control jinns. This is a divine gift to them, they maintain.

However, I have encountered a young Buffi healer who claims that jinns do not serve common Buffis but only serve those who are skilled in the practice of *shub*. Then he explains that to evoke the “informant-jinni” (*khafir*), for instance, the *fqih* must be pious (what he is not) and dexterous in his magical work. First, he needs to get the name of the jinni from a well-experienced *fqih* who wants to be charitable with him and gives him this secret name. He may also give him the type of incense the jinni likes. The process of evocation, according to the young Buffi, requires about 15 days or more of preparations. He sums up the process as follows:

- To go on a diet: the *fqih* must not eat “the soul and what originates from it” (*a-rruḥu wamā yakhruju minha*). This means that it is necessary not to eat any meat or the produce of animals (such as milk) for 14 days.
- A secret place where to do the work.
- Cleanness of dress and place.
- Prayers: the *surats* to be read here are specific: al-Fatiḥa (The Prologue) + al-Inshirāḥ (The Opening Up) + al-Qadr (Determination).
- Eviction of the place from its occupying dwellers (*ṣarf sukkān al-‘ammar*).
- Fumigation with benzoin.

Following these preparations, the *fqih* starts evoking the jinni round three o’clock in the morning every day. The jinni does not come all at once. First, he appears in a dream. In that dream he gives the *fqih* the exact date and time he will hear him. The *fqih* goes on with his rituals till he hears the voice. The first words the jinni says are: “Peace be upon

you pious man!” The *fqiḥ* replies: “Peace be upon you too! Allah may forgive your sins and bless your exertion!” At this moment, the jinni introduces himself, and gives the *fqiḥ* another secret name to call him with, names like Kamushin, Hashhashin and Kakushin. Then, the jinni promises the *fqiḥ* to serve him for life. The *fqiḥ* starts his wishes: “I ask you and Allah to unveil to me people’s minds and their cure.” The young healer adds that there are *jnun* who are evoked as apparitions. These are very lethal and settle with the *fqiḥ* contracts in which they also put their own conditions. If the *fqiḥ* does not comply with these conditions, he risks utter destruction. The strongest and most dangerous of these *jnun* is the one who is called “the servant” (*khdim*).

However, most Buffi healers refute these rituals of invocation, and ask “jinns” directly to labor for them during the process of jinn eviction. When they realize that the jinni is powerful and can inform them of people’s secrets, they negotiate with him the contract of labor. There are “jinns” who get attached to the *shrif* by themselves and propose their servitude. The *shrif* may call them whenever he has problems to ferret out. The young healer’s father is also a *shrif* who has an informant-jinni upon whom he relies to get information. The jinni haunts one of his patients ever since her childhood. She is a woman in her thirties and works as a tailor. Her shop is near the healer’s. He can call her at any time he has a problem. Her name is Malika. She was called to give me a demonstration to the existence of *jnun*. She claimed that *jnun* asked her to be a diviner (to use the table [*mida*]) but she refused. She is still in legal proceedings with them (*mazala ka tshara’ m’ahum*).

It was an afternoon when she was called at the healer’s shop. She told the *shrif* to close the door so that no one would notice the proceeding or interrupt it. She seemed to be anxious and did not like my presence. She sat near the *shrif*; he took off her black scarf and covered her with. He lighted *‘ud ned* (santal wood), gave her *henna* (red soil) to smell and started reading his formulae. But the woman did not fall in paroxysm. She asked for the change of fabric. He had pieces of cloth of different colour behind a picture hung on the wall. He took the red one and covered her with. He repeated the practice and the jinni was evoked. He insisted on the fact that the time was not convenient to call him for consultation (*khibra*). He reminded the *shrif* that he should have been summoned before afternoon prayer. Then, the healer’s son started asking him about the causes of a client’s problem. The jinni seems to be practiced in healing symbols since he uses the jargon of *fqiḥs* and reveals some details about the sorcery done to the client. He

even utters messages the healer has to decipher (see, Appendix III). Their exchange reads as follows:

Jinni: Allah! there is no God but Allah! Peace be upon you, thou holy believer!

Healer 1: Peace be upon you too!

J: What did they say, lord?

Healer 2: Latifa, Fatima's daughter from 'Abda.

J: (*referring to the interviewer*) Is she this man's wife?

H2: No!

J: She has *dyar*!

H2: Where is it hidden?

J: At the door threshold!

H2: Who did it?

J: The woman did it!

H2: For whom did the woman do it?

J: Does this woman (Latifa) faint/fall?

H2: She faints but does not speak.

J: They have done her unknown spell. It is the woman with the scar in the face who did it.

H2: What is her name?

J: We don't name her now. There is no god but Allah. She is a relative.

H2: Is she the woman or the man's relative?

J : From her family.

H2: And if we want to undo the spell?

J: Undo it?

H2: What shall we do?

J: (*silence, then addresses the first healer*): You should have called me before afternoon prayer.

H1: Pardon us that we have called you at this time! A guest came to us and wanted to chat with you.

J: He is welcomed!

H1: I don't know where he works!

J: He is a teacher! this heavenly gentleman loves seriousness. He will have great prosperity in the future. He says I want to explore these *majadib* and these saints! These exist my son! And he who has faith, no misfortune may befall him! What is mentioned in the Qur'an? There are satanic and believer jinns!

H: Sorry! We have called you at this time!

J: Our turn ends at afternoon prayer! Each one has his own turn! There is no God but Allah!

H1: Forgive us!

J: Next time, prepare for me the cloth and incense (benzoin) I like!

(For the Arabic version see Appendix II, text 1)

In this encounter between the "jinni" and the healer, the "jinni" insists on the fact that he is called for consultation at an unsuitable time. He

says that he should have been summoned before afternoon prayer. This shows that the jinni is dexterously drilled in fortune telling. He masters the vocabulary of the practice, respects its rules and submits to the *shrif* master by answering all his questions affirmatively except for the questions that break the rules. The maraboutic knowledge of the “jinni” is grounded in Malika’s social upbringing and magic worldview. She has grown in aura of *ḥadra*, possession, fortune telling and the practice of *sihr*. She holds a strong belief in magic. Malika considers herself a *majduba*. She says: “I dance all *mluk*. I can prompt revelatory words at any time when I am sitting. I have pure heavenly things!”

One of the most revealing secrets the jinni has ever revealed is the secret concerning Malika’s husband and the one concerning the healer’s daughter. The healer says that the jinni once claimed that Malika’s husband had a mistress, and a furore burst out in the family; the spouses quarrelled about it for long. As for the Buffi’s daughter who was studying at university, the jinni revealed that there was a man in her life called Mustapha. When he heard it, the healer thought that his daughter had a boyfriend at university. So he spied on her for a week in vain. The healer seems to have misinterpreted the jinni’s words. Mustapha was going to come from Turkey, a polygamous Moslem who chose the healer’s daughter as his second wife.

Jinns also haunt places. People fumigate their houses to settle compromises with the jinns dwelling there. Thresholds are decorated with all sorts of talismans to chase away satanic jinns. While building a house, the owner sacrifices an animal and holds a feast for the workmen when they ceil the roof of a floor (*yrmiw dala*). The customary dish prepared on such occasions is couscous. When the building is completed and the family moves to it, they hold a feast with the participation of Qur’an reciters (*tulba*) and slaughter a sacrifice to negotiate a peaceful coexistence with the occupying dwellers of the place. It seems that all places are haunted in Morocco save for holy places like mosques and sultans’ shrines. Even palaces are believed to be haunted. A palace in Agadir, the rumour goes, was charmed by Swasa. It is said that no one could step in there. Even servants could not sleep there. They had to leave before dusk. All sorts of spell antidote (*t-fawsikh*) were utilized without results. Informants say that the palace was coded (*muṭalṣam*) with spell symbols difficult to decipher.

The Buffis add that their *mousseem* is also protected by jinns. Somebody from the region, a very honest person, committed a sin by following a woman and making amorous passes to her during the *mousseem*. That day

he went to the shrine struck by Shamharush. When he was exorcised, the jinni revealed that there were about 300 *jnun* sent from Mershish, the popular prison of *jnun*, that is in reality an asylum for the mentally sick in Marrakech, to be responsible for security and order in the *moussem*. The jinni betrayed the man's misdeeds. Caught in shame, the *shrif* was obliged to leave the area afterwards. Why is the *moussem* thought to be protected by *jnun*? The *moussem* is generally a religious feast during which tribes renew their covenant with the saint. But the tradition has taken a carnivalesque form with the flux of time. Now it is an outlet for the fulfilment of forbidden desires, a carnivalesque feast in which all prohibited desires may be licensed. Everything is done to excess: food, drink, sex, dancing, and pleasure. Its timing is also significant. The rural population goes there to celebrate the good harvest and enjoy the end of the agricultural year. Pleasurable are the phantasia, popular music in tents, traditional dancers (*shikhat*), games, traditional tent cafés and the market. In turn, to avoid that only this orgy aspect exists and restrain people from having excessive pleasure, the myth goes that *jnun* will punish any wrongdoer. Jinns, in this sense, may be understood as "a device of self-surveillance theorized by Foucault as they inflict the punishing disapproval of a higher authority" (McIntosh, 2004, p. 106), in this case, the Buffis' authority. The religious collective performances at the shrine involve the recital of litany (*dikr*) and the chanting of the Qur'an.

In Ramadan the ongoing belief is that during this holy month all sorts of conflict from squabbles to wars are prohibited. Allah forbids all his worshippers from dabbling into conflict with each other. In the same way, there is peace between *jnun* and human beings. It is believed that *jnun* are chained for the whole 26 first days of the month so as not to harm people who use the night for religious and social activities. "*Il est connu que les gros génies méchants sont enfermés et réduits à l'impuissance du 15 cha'bâne à la fin du carême; les autres ne le sont que du 1^{er} au 27 ramadhâne*" (Dermenghem, 1954, p. 263). This popular belief may be illustrated by the fact that the shrine of Ben Yeffu during Ramadan is almost empty. People think they are protected by their belief in the incarceration of *jnun* during the holy month. Hardly any cases of jinn possession show up at the shrine. On the eve of the 27th of Ramadan, *jnun* are said to be unchained and so back again to the world where they may harm human beings and the visitors' traffic returns to the shrine.

The jinn phobia in Moroccan culture serves to maintain the prevalent moral standards according to which the individual has to function and

in defence of which all deviants are to be, in one way or another, either reformed or incarcerated. In other words, the proper social conduct is organized round the concept of jinns. People are menaced by jinns who may attack them if they are found guilty of impropriety or any other illicit exploit. The Buffi community, as I observed in different healers' families, attempt to control their youngsters' behaviour by means of jinn phobia. A child is afraid to steal because he is afraid to be caught by people or punished by jinns. He has not internalised the sense of guilt about stealing that it is morally wrong and he should not do it. The basic concern for the child is the public knowledge of his misdeed or its discovery by jinns.

To compare the concept of jinns to the concept of shame (*hshuma*) that is the most common means of behaviour control in Moroccan society, we may put forward that the concept of jinns has a more powerful effect. Shame is a concept that depends on the gaze of the other—an external organizing principle. So far as the child is not caught he can proceed with his illicit exploits. According to George Murdock, societies fall into two groups with regard to the manner in which they regulate sexual behaviour. There are societies that educate their members by means of internalization of rules and prohibitions. And there are societies that fail to internalize these rules, and therefore educate their members by “external precautionary safeguards such as avoidance rules” and devices like veiling, seclusion and surveillance (cit. in Mernissi, 1987, pp. 30–31). Take the example of car traffic light in Morocco. In some regions like the town where I live the traffic light and the policeman stand side by side, the policeman watching over if somebody may violate the law. The ongoing assumption is that if the policeman is not present as a symbol of authoritative penalization, people may drive through the red light. The concept of *hshuma*, as an avoidance rule, does not enable the individual to internalize the sense of guilt. It is the public knowledge of one's misdeed that is taken into consideration. Moroccan morality follows the same structure while constructing the concept of jinns as a means of control of social behaviour. It conjures up invisible *makhzenis*, as the Buffis call them, *jnun* who may be everywhere watching over one's conduct and punishing wrongdoers. So people have to do their ablutions on time, pray, be pious and adopt a proper social comportment. When jinns speak in the voice of possessed individuals during the process of jinn eviction they harp on the idea that the sick person burns them with prayers. When the person is cured, the healer calls for prayers in one of his ears to make sure that he is no longer distraught

by the word of God. Generally speaking, people believe that a proper religious behaviour may protect them from jinn attack.³

However, fear does not foster in the individual the sense of guilt towards his public social conduct. Little guilt occurs in the concept of jinn or *hshuma*. These remain mere external precautionary tools of behaviour control like the Islamists' veil, beard, djellaba, and gown. So far as the symbol of fear no longer scares him, the individual may do all possible forms of deceit. Let me illustrate this point with a comment on traditional forms of education in Morocco. Most parents used, and some still do, educate their children according to the cultural schema of shame and jinn phobia. When the child is young and his mother frightens him with external symbols such as Raḥmat Allah (Mercy of Allah) or Umna al-Ghoula (our Mother the Ghoul)—euphemistic names of female jinns—out of fear the child refrains from doing wrong. As he grows up, he may internalize the apprehension of the scarecrows of authority. Internalized moral standards cede the terrain for external precautionary safeguards. So far as he escapes the attention of “scarecrows” like policemen, guards, or dogs, he can perpetrate all sorts of improprieties. These are *scarecrows* because like Raḥmat Allah they may not frighten him any more.

Back to the Buḥfi world, it is essential to note that the colours and shapes of *jnun* are not aleatory labels given at random by the healers but systemic attributes that seem to identify tribes and types of jinns. Like human beings, *junn* are thought to belong to different social groups.

B. *Types of Jinns*

“*Wa kāna fī al-madinati tis‘atu raḥṭin yuḥsiduna fī al-arḍi walā yuṣliḥūn* [there were in the city nine men of a family who made mischief in the land and would not reform] (*surat* An-Naml, *aya*: 48; author’s translation). The term *raḥṭ* used in the Qur’an is borrowed by some *ḥufḍan* to distinguish between families of *jnun*. They claim that *jnun* are families (*arḥāt*): the infidel (*kafir*), the Jew (*yhudi*), and the believer (*mumen*). In Moroccan Arabic, when someone addresses another using the word *raḥṭ*, it is meant

³ Psychologically, the pressures of a proper religious conduct may culminate in man’s struggle to deal with the consequences of inhibiting his biological urges. The stakes may take various forms from suffering from neurosis to psychosis (cf. Yung, 1953).

as an insult connoting his hybridity and unknown social origins. In the Buffi maraboutic context, the word is used to refer to the unknown origins of jinns and their chameleonic nature.

To what extent do the Buffis derive their conception of jinns from the Islamic tradition (the Qur'an and the Hadith)? A reading of the Qur'an may reveal that the Buffis take some Qur'anic notions for-granted and try to use them as proofs of their practice. For instance, they support their practice by saying that the Qur'an attests to the existence of *jinn* and also quote a Qur'anic verse that reads as follows: "Those who live on interest will not rise (on Doomsday) but like a man [*yatakhabbatuhu a-shaiṭanu mina al-mas*] possessed of the devil and demented" (*surat* the Cow, *aya*: 275). The word "*mas*" (lit. touch) in Arabic has been explained by some *fugaha* like Sayouti and al Maḥali as real physical contact between Satan and man (1987, p. 61). The Qur'an for them speaks about possession. But as the sentence shows, this is a metaphor conveying to us the state of the usurer on the Doomsday. No one of us knows how things are on that day. We cannot assert something about it. The image invites us to imagine the miserable condition the usurer will be in. It is a metaphoric image rather than an informative statement. As a speech-act, it is not an assertion but a hypothesis stating what will/may happen on the Doomsday. So, this statement does not prove possession. It is a simple image that vulgarizes the punishment that awaits usurers on the Doomsday, a technique used in the Qur'an by conveying images to give examples to the believers. Thus we may assume that the Qur'an is addressed to an implied audience who may have a limited level of understanding, and tend to conceive of abstractions in perceptible forms.

Since the image is located in the far future, and has not occurred yet, no one of us can foresee how such scene will look like. *Fugaha* interpreted the *aya* on the basis of their observed social experience or by referring to the *Summa* or historical events dating back to the prophet's time or later. Such interpretations seem to be dubious, since how can we reduce the image in the Qur'an that is intended to inspire terror in people so that they refrain from indulging in usury to a commonplace everyday image that hardly frightens people at all. The example in the Qur'an is intended to be more frightful and terrible. The everyday image may be used as an aid to understand the image in the Qur'an but it is not an exact reproduction of it for the simple reason that we do not have access to the hidden knowledge of the future.

Besides, it is risky to look at the *surats* individually in order to understand the predominant mode of communication between Satan and man in the Qur'an. For me, the thesis of possession is untenable because a group study of the *surats* involving Satan, jinns and man do not point clearly to this. They rather show that Satan and man communicate via the *waswasa* (temptation), which is more spiritual than physical.

Jinns in the Qur'an are said to be created from fire. Allah says: "and created jinns from the white-hot flame of fire" (*surat Arrahman, aya: 15*). The word al-Jān refers to the father of "*al-jin*," Iblis who will become Satan (Sayouti & al-Mahali, 1987, p. 709). When Adam was created, Iblis and the rest of angels were commanded to bow before him. All angels acquiesced except Iblis, from jinns, who declined. Allah says: "When we asked the angels to bow before Adam, they all bowed but Iblis, who said: 'Can I bow before him whom you created from clay'" (*surat al-Isra' [The Journey by Night], aya: 61*)? Iblis considered Adam inferior to him in rank and thus refused to be compared to such creature created from clay. How can it be that a creature created out of fire bow before a creature created out of clay! That was how Iblis envisaged the situation. Allah says: "'what prevented you...from bowing (before Adam) at My bidding?' 'I am better than him,' said he. 'You created me from fire, and him from clay'" (*surat al-A'raf [Wall between Heaven and Hell], aya 12*).

Iblis' refusal cost him damnation by God and banishment he and his mutinous entourage from the realm of heavens. Tenacious as he was, he challenged God and threatened to take revenge on Adam and his progeny. "(And) said: 'look! This is what you have honoured above me! If you defer (my term) till the Day of Resurrection, I will bring his progeny into complete subjugation, barring a few'" (*surat al-Isra' [the Journey by Night], aya: 62*). Thus began the story of the struggle between Satan and Adam. Satan has promised to drive humans astray and create his empire of infidels. The primordial triumph Satan achieved was when he tempted Adam and was at the cause of his banishment from Paradise. From that time on, to combat Satan, Adam and his progeny have been required by religion(s) to pray, fast and practice their worship duties properly because Satan lies in wait to tempt them to be his disciples and thus go off the right path.

Generally, jinns are described in the Qur'an as somewhat similar to human beings. They are divided in two types: believer jinns and infidel ones. Like human beings, they are created by God to worship Him. Allah says: "I have not created the jinns and men but to worship Me"

(*surat* Adhāriyāt [The Dispersing], *aya*: 56). But unlike human beings, they have not received prophets and messengers from their own species. They have followed human prophets. Allah says:

And (remember), when We turned a company of jinns towards you to listen to the Qu'ran, they arrived when it was being recited, and they said: 'keep silent.' When it was over they came back to their people, warning them: 'O our people:' they said: 'we have listened to a Book which has come down after Moses, confirming what (sent down) before it, showing the way to the truth and a path that is straight.' (*surat* al-Aḥqaf, *ayas*: 29&30)

According to Sayouti and al-Mahali, this company of jinns were Jewish because they knew about the Torah. They listened to the Qur'an and went back to their peoples to incite them to become Moslems (1987, p. 671).

As it is obvious from the example above and other examples in the Qur'an (see al-A'raf [Wall between Heaven and Hell] *aya*: 38) jinns, like human beings, are social. They exist in peoples and nations. They can also listen and understand like in the verses quoted before. The Jewish jinns listened to the Qur'an, understood its words and went back to their peoples to advise them to join Islam. Like human beings, jinns can err against God. Allah says in *surat* al-Aḥqaf, *aya*: 31: "'O our people, hearken to the summoner of God, and believe in him, so that he may forgive your sins and save you from a painful doom.'" Also jinns can work. They have labored for Solomon and built for him statues and synagogues. In *surat* Saba', *aya*: 13, Allah says: "They made for him whatever he wished, synagogues and statues, dishes large as water-troughs, and cauldrons firmly fixed (on ovens; and We said): 'O house of David, act and give thanks.'"

Yet, Jinns are different from humans in nature, appearance and power. According to the Qur'an, Jinns are born out of fire while human beings are created out of clay, which makes physical contact between them impossible. Also, jinns are invisible beings.⁴ They can see humans while these cannot see them. Allah says in *surat* al-A'raf, *aya*: 27: "For he (Satan) and his host can see you from where you cannot see them." Moreover, jinns are capable of doing miracles. The Qur'an mentions

⁴ The word "jinn" is derived from the verb "*janna shai'a yajunnahu jannan*" (to hide/veil). So, the word has the meaning of hiding, concealing veiling, and being invisible (Lisan l-Arab/vol. (13): 92–101).

the capacity of jinns to traverse time and space in fast speed and carry unbelievable weight. When King Solomon held a council to discuss the problem of the Queen Belqis of Saba', who together with her people were worshipping the sun and refused to join the religion of Allah, a powerful jinni (named in the Qur'an as a *ifrit*) suggested to the King to bring him her throne before he would rise from his seat. Allah says: "A crafty jinni (*ifrit*) said: 'I will bring it before you rise from your seat'" (*surat An-naml, aya: 39*). Still, this does not prove the jinns' contact with humans. Furthermore, one has to be cautious not to extra-polate prophets and messengers' life histories to embrace all ordinary human beings. What happened to prophets and messengers in their relationship with jinns was unique and could not be projected on everyone.

In the Qur'an, even though jinns were powerful, they were not capable of having access to the future. When King Solomon died, God decreed that he kept in a sitting posture leaning on his staff for about a year (Sayouti and al-Mahali, 1987, pp. 564–65) till the weevil ate the staff and then he fell to the ground. During this whole period *jnun* labored unknowingly for him thinking that their master was still alive. Allah says in *surat Saba'* (Sheba), *aya: 14*: "When We ordained (Solomon's) death, none but the weevil, that was eating away his staff (on which he rested), pointed out to them that he was dead. When he fell down (dead) the jinns realized that if they had knowledge of the Unknown they would never have suffered demeaning labor."

Still, jinns attempted to eavesdrop on the heavens and pry into its secrets. But they were thwarted by shooting stars. "(8) We sought to pry into the secrets of the heavens, but found it full of fierce guards and shooting flames. (9) We sat in observatories to listen; but any one who listened found a shooting star in wait for him" (*surat al-Jinn, ayas: 8 & 9*). In the same *surat*, it is said that people before Islam used to address jinns for help whenever they found themselves in distress. When they frequented deserted places, for instance, like a river, they would say: "O lord of the river! Be with us!" Allah says: "Some men used to seek refuge with some jinns" (*surat al-Jinn, aya: 6*). So, jinns used to sit by the threshold of heavens to pry into its secrets. But when the Prophet of Islam, Mohammed, was sent down to humanity all the doors of heavens were locked in front of jinns. Fierce guardians would burn all jinns who might attempt to eavesdrop on the heavens (Sayouti and al-Mahali, 1987, p. 771). Still, the popular conception, as it is observed at Ben Yeffu, represents jinns as capable of divination. They are also

represented as being able to get into physical contact with humans. Is this attested to by the Qur'an?

Many *fugaha* like Sayouti and Ibn Taymiya argue that jinns may get into physical contact with individuals. They mostly rely on the *aya*: 275, *surat* al-Baqarah (the cow) quoted earlier and some of the Prophet's speeches.⁵ Still, their belief in possession as a physical contact between man and jinns creates an existential problem. In orthodox Islam, the question that looms large is how can the individual be judged by God on the Judgment Day if a jinni haunts the individual and acts on his behalf?

For me, the predominant mode of communication in the Qur'an between humans and Satan, who is from jinns, is the *waswasa* (temptation) which is rather a spiritual course of action. The tempter, Satan, maneuvers to entice humans into revolt against God by seeking to seduce man into sin and by trying to disrupt God's plan for salvation. Satan has sworn to take revenge upon Adam and reduce the number of his progeny chosen for the Kingdom of God. In his adversary work, Satan is described in the Qur'an as working by temptation (*waswasa*). A group study of the Qur'anic verses revolving round the relationship of humans with Satan and his retinue show that there are foregrounded repetitions of the word "*waswasa*" and its synonyms that signify the same process of spiritual temptation. *Shayṭani* jinns can only tempt people astray from their religious duties. They cannot haunt them in the real sense of the word. Here is a chart listing the foregrounded synonyms of the *waswasa* in the Qur'an:

⁵ The Prophet also refers to the *waswasa* in the following hadith. It was narrated that he was asked about diviners. He said that they were liars. People told him that sometimes they spoke the truth. He answered them: "this word of truth is sometimes thieved by jinns and gurgled in the diviner's ear [a process of *al-waswasa*] like the gurgling of a hen; thus disguised in hundred lies" (from *ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhari; author's translation). It was also narrated that the Prophet said: "*inna shayṭāna yajrī minī bni ādamā majra damī minā al-urūq fa-dayiqū 'alaihi majārihi bi-ṣawm*" [Satan flows in man like blood flowing in vessels. So, do press these openings by fasting] (from *ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhari & Muslim formulated differently; author's translation). Moreover, it was narrated that the prophet also said: "Every one of you is consigned to a companion from jinn" (from *ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim; author's translation). As the reader may notice, the Prophet addresses a population who understands through concrete symbols, metaphors, and images. In the second hadith, for instance, he relies on the simile of blood to convey the danger of Satan. Such kinds of personification are conveyed in many of the Prophet's speeches and are literally interpreted by some as concrete images of Satan. Generally, a lot of Muslims narrate stories about seeing Satan in person or disguised as another human being, or about eating, travelling and sleeping with him and his followers.

Table 3. The Linguistic Paradigm of the *waswasa* in the Qur'an

Qur'anic Verses	Word or expression	Remarks
Taha, <i>aya: 120</i> / al-A'raf, <i>aya: 20</i> / Annas, <i>ayas: 4, 5, 6</i> .	<i>waswasa</i> (tempt)	These processes describe psychological and emotional states.
Fuṣṣilat, <i>aya: 36</i> / al-A'raf, <i>aya: 200</i> / Yusuf, <i>aya: 100</i> / al-Isra', <i>aya: 53</i>	<i>nazagha</i> (seduce)	Seduction may be fulfilled by any means: it may be realized through persuasion, attraction, and decoy.
al-'Ankabut, <i>aya: 38</i> / an-Naml, <i>aya: 24</i> / an-Nahl, <i>aya: 63</i> / al-An'am, <i>aya: 43</i> / al-Anfal, <i>aya: 48</i>	<i>zayyana</i> (make seem attractive)	Satan therefore may lure the individual without necessarily touching him or appearing to him.
al-A'raf, <i>aya: 175</i> / al-Furqan, <i>aya: 29</i> / an-Nisa', <i>aya: 60</i> / al-Mujadilah, <i>aya: 19</i>	<i>aghwa</i> (drive astray) / <i>adalla</i> (lead astray)	
Yusuf, <i>aya: 42</i> / al-An'am, <i>aya: 68</i> / al-Mujadilah, <i>aya: 19</i>	<i>ansā shayṭanu al-insāna</i> (Satan makes man forget)	Satan has got the better of them. It means he has fully attracted them to his camp.
al-A'raf, <i>aya: 27</i>	<i>fatana</i> (beguile)	The process of making someone forget about something may be done through luring him away from it.
al-Ma'idah, <i>aya: 91</i>	<i>yūqī'u shayṭānu al-'adāwata bainakum</i> (Satan excites enmity between you)	Satan may engage man's interest astray from piety.
al-Baqarah, <i>aya: 36</i> / al-Imran, <i>aya: 155</i> / al-An'am, <i>aya: 121</i>	<i>azalla</i> (tempt) / <i>istazalla</i> (induce) / <i>wahyu shayṭān</i> (Devils' inspiration)	
an-Nisa', <i>aya: 38</i> / az-Zukhruf, <i>aya: 36</i>	<i>a-shayṭān ka qarīn</i> (Satan as companion)	He who goes blind to the word of God is doomed to have Satan as his companion (ever-tempter)

As the chart shows, the foregrounded use of the *waswasa* (temptation) and its synonyms in the Qur'an give good reason for the lack of physical contact between jinns and human beings. Satan and his mutinous entourage can only tempt, seduce, lure and attract people from properly worshipping their God. Seduction may be realized in different ways. The Qur'an describes Satan's assault on man and even specifies it. Allah says challenging Satan: "Mislead any of them you may with your voice, attack them with your cavalry and soldiers on foot, share their wealth and children with them, and make promises to them" (*surat, al-Isra'* [The Journey by Night], *aya:* 64). The verse conveys aspects of satanic life. The voice of Satan may be incarnated in flutes, music and orgies. Cavalry and soldiers on foot may be different types of sinners. Wealth may be forbidden money like that of usury. Children may be bastards. And promises may refer to people's withdrawal of their professed belief on the Day of Judgment (see Sayouti & Al Maḥali, 1987, p. 373). As I pointed out before, such images are intended for the masses of believers to help them recognize Satan's menace in tangible, visualized and shaped formulations, which may suggest that the Qur'an addresses people who are unable to understand conceptions in their abstract form.

To come to the point, the predominant mode of communication between Satan and human beings, as the Qur'an puts it, is the *waswasa* (temptation). Allah says in *surat a-Nnas*: "Say: 'I seek refuge with the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, From the evil of him who breathes temptations into the minds of men, who suggests evil thoughts to the hearts of men—from among the jinns and men.'"⁶ The expression "*alladhī yuwaswisu fī ṣudūri nnāsi*" [who suggests evil thoughts to the hearts of men] is a pertinent illustration to the theory of the *waswasa*. Even there is a mental sickness named after it called *al-waswas* (excessive or irrational suspiciousness). So, in the Qur'an Satan's adversary work against man is no more than temptation.

Above more, if one follows the Buffi or rather popular conception of possession, that is the jinni haunts the individual and controls his actions, how is one going to answer God's questions on the Day of Judgment? In institutional Islam, it is decreed that human beings will be accountable to Allah for their deeds and will report to him on the

⁶ The Arabic version reads as follows: *qul a'ūdhu birabbī nnāsi/maliki nnāsi/ilāhi nnāsi/min sharri al-waswāsi al-khannāsi/al-ladhī yuwaswisu fī ṣudūri nnāsi/mīna al-jinnati wa nnāsi/*

Judgment Day all the sins and virtue they have done. So, if Allah sends jinns to haunt people, how can he judge them for the deeds they have not been responsible for? The Qur'an is clear on the issue. It says that all people are responsible for their own deeds. And those who have followed Satan's temptations are to pay for their sins on the Judgment Day. Allah says:

When the reckoning is over Satan will say: "the promise that was made to you by God was indeed a true promise; but I went back on the promise I made, for I had no power over you [*wa mā kāna li 'alikum min sultan*] except to call you; and you responded to my call. So blame me not, but blame yourselves. Neither can I help you nor can you give me help. I disavow your having associated me earlier (with God). The punishment for those who are wicked is painful indeed. (*surat Ibrahim, aya: 22*)

As the reader may notice, the Qur'an is explicit on the idea that people will be judged for their own deeds and that Satan has no power over them except for tempting them to err against Allah.

The Buffis believe that they follow the Qur'an and the prophetic tradition and impute their belief, worldview, and social organization to the Qur'an. In this respect, they are not "dissimilar to the millions of illiterate or quasi-literate Muslims of North Africa and the rest of the Middle East. As heterodox as their beliefs and practices may be, they do recognize the faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca—and attempt to lead their lives accordingly" (Crapanzano, 1973, p. 7). Like all the masses of believers who can only grasp abstractions in their perceptible forms and visualized epitomes, the Buffis conceive of jinns by using tangible symbols inspired by the institutional conception conveyed in the Qur'an though these symbols differ from it in ritual and practice.

The Buffis make sense of their world by using concrete signs. Their relationship with the divine is mediated by stones, plants, water, and other natural elements. They touch, kiss, listen, drink, and speak. They are involved in this world with their senses and emotions. For instance, they conceive of jinns as tangible symbols. Generally, they distinguish between two major types of jinns: the satanic (*shayṭānī*) and the divine (*rabbānī*) like in the Qur'an—*al-qāsiṭun* (infidels) vs. *al-muslimun* (believers) (*surat al-Jinn, aya: 14*). Both types are believed by the Buffis to get in physical contact with human beings either in their own shape or in disguise. The satanic type includes families of Jewish jinns and infidel jinns that seduce possessed patients astray and attempt to deceive

the healers during the ritual of jinn eviction. The divine type includes believer jinns and *fqiḥ* jinns—those who use the words of Allah and refrain as much as they can from harming individuals. The Jewish jinns are the most plentiful to be encountered in possessed patients. They are very difficult to exorcise because they do not keep their vows. Usually the healer uses a rosary during their eviction to count their vows. The Jewish jinns are often required to give 7 vows in order to quit the body. Normally they scheme by giving less or more than seven promises. The most dexterous healer would ask them to give more than 7 vows, and then when they reach 7 promises, he would stop them and thus trick them into accepting his bond and leaving the body in peace.

According to the Buffis, jinns, like human beings, may be doctors, judges, engineers, teachers or policemen. They may also be literate, illiterate, strong or coward. Among the duties they may assume is that of attending Kings and protecting them from any potential harm. Some healers say:

Time was when a king visited al-Jurf al-Asfar, a large busy port about 17 kilometres to the south of El Jadida, a girl was taken in the meantime to the shrine sick with jinn possession. During the *ṣriʿ*, the jinni revealed that he was discharged from his duty and was sitting under a tree to rest but the girl was throwing stones at him; so he struck her. The *shrif* asked him about the nature of his work. The jinni said that he was attending a king. He had been with him when he was in the Sahara and then he was with him in Rabat. He also said that his duty was to protect this king; he went in front and organized his lines. When *jnun* were escorting this king to the Jurf, the jinni made a mistake and his chief sacked him. He said he would return to the base in the Sahara, and promised the healer to release the girl after staying at Ben Yeffu for three days.

That a King is like a saint protected by *jnun* seems to be part of the cultural schema of authority in Morocco. Deep-rooted in popular imagination is that Kings have *baraka*, descend from a sharifian lineage, and have all saintly attributes. Like the king, like the saint; they are both elected by God as owners of his divine power (See the analysis of the saint's kingly attributes in chap. 3).

The King Hassan II, as an example, survived miraculously two remarkable coups d'état in 1971 and 1972. He was twice at gunpoint but regained his footing and overturned the coups. Combs-Schilling interpreted those historical events as illustrations of "the power of the human body to encode cultural perceptions" (1989, p. 307). According to her, military men did not dare to deliver the lethal blow because

they held their reigning prince in respect and awe. She adds that “most Moroccans were enormously impressed by the trajectory of the two coup attempts... A prince of the Faithful who survives attacks by armies and planes must be taken seriously, and is” (pp. 308–9). True, Moroccans do have a unique conception of their King. Hassan II was regarded as the symbol of the nation, the definer of identity, the commander of the faithful and the son of the popular king Mohammed V whose face Moroccans saw on the moon when they ran out in streets on the night of his exile. On his great sparing, some Moroccans claimed that Hassan II did not die because he was fortified by the force of *baraka* and blood descendance from the prophet. Others attributed his escape to his body immunity. They said he was immunized by miraculous powers to resist gunshot. Many yarns were spun round those historical events displaying the deep-seated basic perceptions of the king as a cultural symbol of the nation and as an institution profoundly ingrained in popular imagination.

Ben Yeffu, a sultan in his own realm, has his own jinn agents working for him. As I have said earlier, the Buffis maintain that there are *makhzeni* jinns working for the saint. During the trial of the culprit jinns, these *makhzenis* execute the orders of the saint. They confine jinns, beat them, chase fugitives and bring them back to the trial. They also bring prisoners’ files in front of the saint, and guard the *khalwa*. These *makhzenis* have the duty to uphold social order and security at the shrine. The choice of the word *makhzeni* by the Buffis is very symbolic. It reflects the fact that the Buffis have internalized the cultural schema of domination and submission successfully. The ideological implication of this linguistic choice is that the saint’s power is hardly different from that of the historical repressive apparatus of the Makhzen.

Generally speaking, the Buffi healers seem to be aware of the existence of jinns’ tribes but do not have clear-cut taxonomies of these tribes. They assort jinns according to their doings. As I have mentioned earlier, they present two major categories, satanic and divine jinns. Like Bouya Omar, Ben Yeffu is said to have archives of jinns’ files including their tribe, age, religion, and status in the transcendental worlds. Sidi Tayyeb nicknamed Moul Douassa at Bouya Omar is believed to store records of the jinns’ files the way our real courts do. As Naamouni points out:

Dans ce dossier figurent le nom du jinn, sa tribu, son âge, sa religion, le rang qu’il occupe dans le monde surnaturel: s’il est céleste (samaoui), marin (bahraoui), souterrain (moul al-ard), ou des vents (lariyah). Figurant aussi le nom du malade, le jour de

l'attaque, et les preuves (hojja), justifiant les raisons de l'agression affligée au possédé par l'esprit, ainsi que les exigences du jinn si elles paraissent valables aux yeux du tribunal. (Naamouni, 1995, p. 106)

The Buffis in the same way believe that the saint has files of jinns that patients sometimes have access to through their dream visions (*ru'yas*). The example of the *taleb* from Marrakech is a good case in point. He is tried at the *mahkama* of Ben Yeffu and describes its legal proceedings. He seems to have challenged the powers of the saint in a sitting with the *shurfa*:

A decade ago, when a *taleb* from Marrakech was discussing with some Buffi friends the *baraka* of Ben Yeffu, he ventured that the saint was not a *shrif* but a magician (*hkaimi*). When he challenged the *baraka* of the saint, the *shurfa* stopped arguing with him. Later on, during holidays, he came with his friends to Ben Yeffu. The first night he spent at the shrine he was struck by a jinni. He pulled off all his clothes and wandered in the vicinity as naked as the day he was born. The following day the healers took him down to the *khalwa* early in the morning. At afternoon prayer that day, he started calling the *shurfa* from the *khalwa*. When they opened the lid, they found him dressed and calm. When he sat with his father and the *shurfa* in the *mahkama*, he told them that it was his mistake. He saw the saint in person. He said: "Your grandfather came to me in the *khalwa* with his slave carrying a chair, a table and files including mine. The saint sat on the table and opened my file and started listing my wrong deeds. He decreed that I had to buy a big bull, slaughter it and hold a gathering of *fqihs* at the shrine. Also I had to bring each one of the *hufdan* two cones of sugar. He also decreed that I had to buy the *shrif* who practiced *sbub* in the *souk* a turban and slippers." His father refused because that was too expensive for him. A *shrif* intervened and offered to pay him the sugar for the *hufdan* and warned him never to come back to the shrine. On Monday, the father went to the market, bought the bull and bought the *shrif* sitting in the *souk* the turban and slippers. The *taleb* recovered. People told the father that there was no need for slaughtering the bull since his son got well. A *bouhali* (wandering *majdub*) who was roaming in the *souk* took a piece of cloth, hung it on a stick and went to the father's house and started turning round the mansion shouting "Fire! Fire! Fire! Take to Ben Yeffu its sacrifice!" So, the father was frightened, and brought the bull to the shrine to complete the ritual" (narrated by some *hufdan*).

In the story, the saint is pictured like a real judge. He shows the defendant his file with all the details of his grievances in a way similar to what happens in our earthly courts. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *mahkama* at Ben Yeffu resembles the *mahkama* in Moroccan society with its prison-house since the Buffis conjure up religious symbols in

their down-to-earth forms. Maraboutic practices, in general, are in fact part of a Moroccan Islam built on substantial symbols like saints and incarnated spirits, and almost detached from any form of religious abstraction. Here are in a nutshell some personal details given by Buffi healers about jinns tried at the shrine, which displays how deep the maraboutic beliefs run in the Buffi community.

One of the most well-renowned female jinni the Buffis hold in fear and awe is 'Aicha Qandisha. This jinni has in fact acquired different names throughout the history of Morocco. She is 'Aicha of the river, 'Aicha the Sudanese, and 'Aicha the Gnawiya. According to Westermarck, the origins of this female jinni may have some historical links with Ishtar, the goddess of war and sexual love, whose "popularity was universal in the Ancient Middle East [and Mediterranean societies], and in many centres of worship she probably subsumed numerous local goddesses. In later myth she was known as Queen of the Universe, taking on the powers of An Enlil, and Enki" ("Ishtar," 1997). Moroccans conjure up this jinni as a scheming envious old female who disperses lovers or as resembling Baghlat Laqbur (the female jinn-mule of tombs)⁷ living in cemeteries by night by being a very beautiful woman hiding behind her dress deformed animal shape. If she meets human beings on her way, she may tempt them to her remote dwelling and devour them afterwards (Wa'rab, 2003, p. 88). Is this the way the Buffis conceive of this jinni?

The Buffis' representation of 'Aicha stems from the mythic lore of Doukkala. In this region, it is believed that 'Aicha was a real historical figure who fought against invaders, especially the Portuguese. She resembled the mythic siren in Greek mythology, a creature half bird and half woman that lured sailors to destruction by the sweetness of her song. Similarly, 'Aicha used to appear to the soldiers at night, and utilized her charms to lure them to remote places and kill them. In myth, 'Aicha is represented as a creature half human and half animal. She is traditionally represented like Satan as cloven-hoofed.

⁷ In the Berber tradition in Azrou region, Baghlat Laqbur is the widow who does not observe the grief period over her dead husband. This grief period is about four months and ten days. It is called the right of Allah (*haq Allah*). According to the Berber belief, the widow who makes love to another man during the moaning period may be turned in her death into the mule of tombs, a very sinister mule-jinni in chains that gallops every night in the cemetery.

In their classification of jinns, the Buffis do not consider the various names of 'Aicha as referring to one female jinni, 'Aicha Qandisha, but as names referring to different 'Aichas. Thus the Buffi list of 'Aichas is endowed with different attributes associated with each female jinni.

- 'Aicha Sudaniya: she wears black colour.
- 'Aicha al-Ḥamdushiya: she likes *jedba*.
- 'Aicha u-'Wisha: she likes *jedba*.
- 'Aicha Qandisha: she likes black dress; she has jutting out teeth and camel-shapen feet. If a pregnant woman casts eyes upon her she may miscarry. The body she invades starts braying like a donkey, bellowing like cattle and barking like a dog.
- 'Aicha Rubala (the troublesome): a tumultuous and chaotic female jinni. The person she invades creates social tensions and conflicts among the members of his/her family.
- 'Aicha al-Baghiya (the prostitute): the woman she possesses likes yellow color and cleanness, and wears heavy make-up before a mirror. She sings, dances, winks and entices strangers to sexual intercourse.
- 'Aicha Mulat al-Merja/al-Wad: (of the river): she is a believer. She wears white dress. She fears God and does not wrong people. The person she possesses becomes addicted to drinking water in great bulks. She may for instance drink four liters at once, like an animal, and then vomit it hot.
- 'Aicha al-Baḥrawiya (of the sea): she is a believer, she wears white dress, she fears god and does not wrong people.

Another jinni well known in the Buffi mythology is Shamharush. He is also called Sidi Shamharush Ṭayar (the flyer). His fame extends to North Africa. People in Sous believe that it is this jinni who causes rivers to flow, traverse their areas, fertilize their land, and enables their cattle to quench their thirst. Out of respect, they set up a shrine for him at the base of Tubkal, the highest mountain in the Great Atlas in Morocco. One may wonder whether it is the manoeuvre of contingency or the call of heavens that has lured this jinni to this remote grotto surrounded with the rains and snows of the Atlas. The myth goes that Shamharush retreated there to spend the last centuries of his perennial life. He was converted to Islam during the Prophet's times and became a *'alim* and a *qadi* of jinns' tribes. Doctor Mauchamp states that according to the *fūqha*'s estimations, Shamharush's death could be round 1898, after living for 12 centuries. His guess is based on some sorcerers' assertions that their talismans and spells calling forth Shamharush's name have lost their magic effect. They also claim that when they asked other jinns about him, they were told that the jinni died years ago! (cit. in Wa'rab, 2003, pp. 94–5). According to the Buffis, Shamharush is still alive. He

has been frequently present in patients coming for cure at the shrine. The healers treat him as one of the sultans of jinns. A Buffi healer narrates the adventures of Sidi Shamharush with a female fortune-teller. The woman was possessed by al-Basha Hammou who set up the condition that she had to visit Sidi Shamharush before he would release her. The following is an excerpt from the whole story:

Once they reached the saint Mulay Brahim near Marrakech, the Buffi healer and his female patient hired donkeys and mules to undertake the journey to Shamharush. The saint appeared to be a remote stone in the wilderness surrounded by shanties. Once they arrived, the woman got afraid and asked the *shrif* how they would spend the night there. It was a deserted place. But when they entered a shanty, they found a still warm pasta dish waiting for them. They ate from it and went to sleep. The woman could not assimilate what was happening. Four dogs came to the place to watch over them. The following morning, they vanished. At noon, they heard someone calling outside. When they went out to see who was there, they saw no one except a large plate of couscous still hot put on the ground. They ate from it and took the road back home.

The story of the Buffi is a tour de force boasting of how Shamharush, the Sultan of jinns, has entertained him and his woman companion. He has sent his jinn guardians assuming the shape of dogs to watch over them and evoked food from nowhere to supply them with. The *baraka* of bringing about food from nowhere is a recurrent prototypical motif in the maraboutic culture. Saints are believed to achieve this miracle. Perhaps, this is related to their social role marked throughout the history of Morocco by giving food in charity to requesters during times of draught and famine. The maraboutic tradition states that to eat from the food prepared or brought to the saint is to take a share of his *baraka*. Even the saint's *baraka* is sometimes referred to as food, particularly a loaf of bread (*khubza*) to be shared by his descendents and followers. In fact, most Buffis brag of their mastership of jinns. They do not exclude any jinni from Ben Yeffu's empire. All jinns are thought to be subject to the saint and his descendents by proxy.

The Buffis assort jinns according to their choosing of colour. They maintain that each jinni has a preference for a particular colour to be summoned. So many healers' places are full of pieces of fabric of different colours. Here are some examples of jinns' colour preferences: al-Gnawi likes black fabric. Shamharush likes green or white fabric. Ben 'Ashir likes green or white fabric. al-Haj al-Mekkaoui likes green or white fabric. 'Aicha al-Bahrawiya likes black or white fabric. al-Basha Hammou likes red fabric. He frequents slaughter-places (*nhiras*). He

is a butcher. He likes blood. The *khushba* he invades likes *jedba* and practices limb-slashing. For women he causes haemorrhage. Sultan Mimoun Rabbani (also called Mimoun al-Mumen, the believer) does not wrong unless he is wronged. His color is brownish (*smar*). He likes black colour. Mimoun Lihudi is of a brownish black colour (*smar*). He is Jewish. He rapes beauty, especially virgins. He likes black color. Amidst these colors, the Sultan Ben Yeffu also seems to identify himself in terms of color. A recent vision by a *majdub* at the shrine has revealed that the saint associates himself with green color. This color is usually found at shrines in the fabric covering the coffins. It is used as an omen of life and fertility. That Ben Yeffu chooses this color is very significant in the Buffi maraboutic context. The green color is defined in relation with its antonym black associated with the sultan l-Kḥal. That the green color defeats the black, as the legend analyzed earlier shows, is a prophetic indication of the triumph of peace and virtue in a society historically scared by all types of abusive exercise of power. The green color is divulged in 'Abdeljalil's prophetic vision. Some *hufdan* narrate it as follows:

Recently, a "miracle" has occurred at the shrine. 'Abdeljalil, a *majdub* from Safi region, came to the shrine in a fit of possession. In the cell where he lodged with his mother for about three days, he heard a voice calling him. He walked out to see a man on his white horse, who told him not to be afraid of a sick girl lodging in one of the cells in the shrine. He could evict the jinni out of her. The *majdub* asked him who he was. The knight answered that he was the Sultan l-Kḥdar (the Green Sultan) Sidi 'Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu. When he lifted up his gown, peoples and tribes of *jnun* were living under his shoulders. The saint told the sick man: "these are all my servants!" The sick person saw a *madina* (city) of jinns with women in it. Then, the young man went to the girl's cell and evicted the jinni out of her. The girl stood up cured.

Then he went to the court (*mahkama*) and told one of the *hufdan* to go with him to the shrine of Sidi Ahmed. The knight was dictating to him what to do. They went to Sidi Ahmed. When they arrived he told the *hfid* to put his hand under the coffin (*tabut*). When he did so, he found a *kalkha* (the sword of jinn) and some *baraka* like incense. 'Abdeljalil took that *baraka* to his mother who lost it. He also went to the mosque near the prayer niche (*miḥrāb*) where he found a half-kilo of aloes (*ud al-qmari*) [this may be used with incense to evoke *mluk*]. Again, his mother distributed that to the visitors. The man acquired some *baraka* that did not last long because his mother did not preserve it. He worked as a fortune teller, responding to people's questions concerning sicknesses and digging forth hidden spells for patients. He had three *mluk* haunting him (two males and one female). These helped him in his work.

The uncanny vision outlined above delineates how far ‘Abdeljalil is implicated in the maraboutic culture. As the healers maintain, he fell sick at an earlier age and since then has taken to saint pilgrimage.⁸ He seems to be well drilled into the maraboutic discourse with its metaphors and vocabularies. That he saw the saint folding cities of jinns under his shoulders is a moment of epiphany. Not all maraboutic followers make such illuminating discovery. Those who have the chance to see the saint in person in their dreams are his elects. Some may receive their share of his holy power and thus practice healing or fortune telling. In the maraboutic context, there is a straightforward hankering at all social levels for seeing the saint in dreams. These legendary apparitions of the saint captivate the crowds and reinforce the spiritual power of the saint over his followers. These wonders and stories circulated about Ben Yeffu may be regarded as measures of his growing popularity. By the spread of such epiphanic stories, the sultan’s charisma is sustained. The wider they circulate, the more expandable is the circumference of his power.

C. *Self vs. Other*

The representation of jinns in the Buffi mythology is grounded in the popular conception of the *other* in Moroccan society. The concept of jinns may be regarded as positional constituting whatever is radically different from the categories of the same and whatever represents an urgent threat by virtue of that difference. Strangers, *jnun*, Jews, blacks, women may be regarded as archetypal figures of the other about whom the essential point to be made is not that they are feared because they are evil; rather they are evil because they are other, different and unfamiliar (see Jameson, 1981, p. 115).

Living in a social world marked by conflict, envy, and mutual incrimination, most saint goers frequent shrines in an attempt to discharge

⁸ ‘Abdeljalil came to Ben Yeffu from Safi. He got sick because of his hobby of hunting birds. One day, he went near a fish storehouse and set up his net. Suddenly, he saw a girl walking in the vicinity and followed her. He discovered that she was with her mother. When he approached them he felt like hot water poured on his legs and felt paralyzed. They were not human beings. He crawled away. Some friends were walking by the vicinity found him and took him home. His mother took him to *fqihs*, fortune-tellers and saints in vain. But when she took him to Ben Yeffu he was said to be cured. He stayed there for two years (the story is narrated by some *hufdan*).

the hostilities they have accumulated from the constant abuse to which they have been exposed. They regard themselves as victims of other people's machinations. At Ben Yeffu, for instance, the healers help the supplicants exteriorize their tensions by relieving them from any sense of responsibility for their problems and blaming it on scapegoated *others*. The predominant belief supplicants are urged to hold on to is that there is an *evil other* lurking in ambush to harm them. This *other* becomes a targeted scapegoat onto whom supplicants project aspects of their experiences, fantasies, memories and anxieties. The process of projection may be directed towards stereotypical figures that represent targets of contempt to the public and thus prove to be less intimidating to the supplicants. "[This] process whereby low social groups turn their figurative and actual power, not against those in authority, but against those who are even lower," is known as *displaced abjection* (Stallybrass & White, 1986, p. 53). Saint-goers who predominantly come from the subaltern groups enduring all sorts of frustrations project their problems and handicaps on other lower members of their social strata. Instead of blaming the dominant social classes that detain wealth and power and use them at the cost of the masses' deprivation, the subalterns direct their hostilities towards those who are even lower. They project on them the stereotypical aspects of the master: brutality, violence, deceit and cunning. Thus, these groups appear as chaotic mobs engrossed with infighting and mutual incrimination incapable of living collectively.

At Ben Yeffu, both saint-goers and healers share the perception that caution is the rule of social survival in a jungle where the *other* lies in wait to bereave them by means of magic spells of the little they own. The *other* is held responsible for doing magic (*sihr*), casting the evil eye (*al-ʿain*), and unleashing jinns. These suspicions seem to thwart the masses' sense of collectivism and sustain the picture of a confused mob. The masses, in consequence, conceive of themselves as dissolving into "tumbling chaos" and in need of an authority to keep them under control.⁹ This authority may be the Mahkzen represented by the court, the *sulṭa* incarnated in the *qaid*, or *baraka* embodied in the Sultan Ben Yeffu, or any other dominant apparatus in society capable of maintaining order and chasing/disciplining the *evil other*.

⁹ A proverb in this respect goes as follows: "by the name of God if the Makhzen ceases to exist, we will eat each other (*wa llah u khṭana al-Makhzen ala klina baʿdiyatna*)."

This kind of worldview leads us back to Althusser's theory of ideology. Althusser distinguishes between Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs). ISAs function massively and predominantly by *ideology* while RSAs function massively and predominantly by *repression*. Certainly, there is no such thing as a purely repressive or ideological apparatus. They both make use of repression and ideology with varying degrees. "The Army and the police [as RSAs] also function by ideology both to ensure their own cohesion and reproduction, and to propound their 'values' externally. . . . In the same way, but inversely, it is essential to say that ISAs . . . function secondarily by repression. . . . Thus Schools and Churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc., to 'discipline' not only their shepherds, but also their flocks" (Althusser, 1995, p. 302). It is necessary to add that this double functioning of both types of apparatuses depend on the "ruling ideology" beneath which their interplay is woven. "No class can hold state power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses" (Althusser, 1995, p. 302).

Following Althusser's thesis, Ben Yeffu as a maraboutic institution may be considered as an ideological state apparatus upholding the cultural schema of domination with its social hierarchies and inequalities. The *zawiya* functions predominantly by ideology and subordinately by repression. Within this apparatus, ideology functions as a discourse, a set of cultural representations constructed to make the adherents and visitors accept the system of absolute authority the maraboutic institution validates. The social relations of domination and submission existing in Moroccan society are played out in the *sharif's* ritual cures. Their discourse is based on the master-servant logic and is informed by the worldview of the master who disciplines the dissident jinni-slave and transforms him into a submissive identity. As for repression, it acts through the intermediary of the *khalwa* or *habs* (prison), to use the Buffi terminology—a solitary confinement where violent jinn slaves are incarcerated, an index of the Buffis' torture of the dissenting *other* who transgresses the norms of society and deserves owing to this transgression to be enslaved back to compliance.

As he is represented in the Buffis' healing discourse, the *other* seems to be a negative black area—an evildoer who cannot be known or represented except as foreign, irrational, mad, bad, different, strange, unclean and unfamiliar. He is an archetypal figure whose radical difference from the group threatens its stability and collective fabric. His "outlandish"

behavior should be exorcised and reformed into a recognized identity. The paradigm of the *other* includes both human and jinn agents who are held responsible for producing a destructive magic effect on the individual. The patient is seen as a passive social actor who undergoes the brutality and cunning of the *other*. He is released from all sorts of blame. This theory of causation alleviates the patient's tensions and absolves him from being accountable for his deeds. This explanation echoes the popular belief that the machinery of the evil eye (*al-ʿain*), the female jinni pursuer (*tabʿa*), the machinery of luck (*zhar*), air jinns (*l-ryah*), cold (*l-berd*), magic (*shur*), and the spite of people (*sem l-bashar*) are powers steering the wheel of man's fortune. They may affect his health, work, family and social life as a whole. In retaliation, people, according to the Buffi healing system, should equip themselves with prophylactic measures like talismans, incense (*bkhur*), omens, sacred relics (*baruk*) and prayers to shield themselves from the cast of the *other's* evil eye and machinations. Thus social interactions seem to be ruled by mutual mistrust that wipes out all signs of collective will.

At this point, it is essential to say that the Buffis' healing system is structured by the dichotomy of the self and the other. When patients consult Buffi healers, they explain to them their fears and anxieties in terms of an *evil other* who may harm knowingly or inadvertently their lives. This *other* may be a neighbor, for instance, who keeps track of their achievements and thus cast upon them the evil eye by envying them, may be the *guza* who hates her daughter-in-law and poisons her with a work of sorcery (*tukal*), or may be an anonymous agent of a transcendental nature (a jinni born out of fire) who enters human bodies and maims them. Both patients and healers share the assumption that *jnun* may possess individuals on the rebound of some *sihr* done furtively by envious evil-doers or on account of some accidental misconduct perpetrated by the patient himself. The Buffi healers use key linguistic signs referring to the causes of jinn possession such as *sihr*, *al-ʿain*, *tabʿa*, and *al-aghlāt mʿa l-jenn* (wrongdoings against jinns). We will bring each sign under scrutiny to explore the value systems and sets of beliefs residing behind its representation in the Buffi healing discourse.

1. *Magic (sihr)*

According to Mustapha Hijazi (1986), when people are unable to understand the causes and results of their social interactions, they fall back on magic to ferret out the enigmas of their social world. They rely on

magical practices to fetch luck, destroy an enemy and undo the mischief of the *other*. To what extent is this comment relevant to the Buffi healers and clients? At Ben Yeffu, it is believed that the healers have the power to unveil the *sihr* done by the *other* and undo its effect. They call on their ancestor's *baraka* to evoke the jinni haunting the patient, exorcise it and undo the spell that has caused the jinn possession. Usually, it is the jinni who reveals the secrets of the other's mischief and may even give the *tba'il*, the undoing of the spell.¹⁰

The Buffi healers maintain that there are two major categories of *sihr*. There are *fqihs* who practice *al-a'mal shaytaniya* (satanic doings) and others who practice *al-a'mal rabbaniya* (doings of our Lord, divine doings). Those who practice divine doings are said to be pious *fqihs*, who fear the punishment of Allah. They practice what may be termed white magic.¹¹ They do *al-mhabba*, a harmless spell that is usually done to reconcile quarreling lovers. This spell may be done by amulets (*hjabat*), incense (*bkhur*), *henna* from Ben Yeffu and other ingredients. Before doing the spell, some *shurfa* first do their magic diagnosis called by some *hsab* (calculation) and by others *hazan al-khat* (the lifting of the line) or *rhal* (move). Some *shurfa* do not seem to master the rules of this practice but venture to do it. Here is an example from my own ethnographic diary showing how a Buffi *shrif* "lifts the line" for one of his visitors.

On 14 July 2002, I visited the *souk* of Tnin al-Gharbiya to explore how some *shurfa* practiced traditional cure in the market place. I sat with one of the prominent *shurfa* called Si Taher for about three hours interviewing him and his patients about the nature of problems they were concerned with. Most of his patients were rural women between 25 and 50 years-old. They wanted to know about the mysteries of the future. Some wanted to marry and others wanted to keep their marriage going despite the conjugal rows they had. They wanted to

¹⁰ In institutional Islam, there are two types of cure: first to undo spells by spells. This is prohibited in Islam because the un-doer of the spell is classified as a magician and thus damned by God as slave of Satan (the Qur'an attests to the existence of magic but prohibits its practice and denies its effect. Allah says: "what you have cast is only a charm which God will surely nullify" [*surat Yunus* (Jonah), *aya*: 81]). Second, to undo spells by Qur'anic verses and wish prayers (*roqya*). This is thought to be lawful because the supplicant addresses Allah and not any other Power (see Ben Abdelwahab, n.d., pp. 126–27).

¹¹ In the Buffi social context, white magic may be regarded as a means of social support and cohesion. The Buffis practice magic to restore social relations and create solidarity among social actors. As for black magic, it is disruptive and conduces society to mistrust and disharmony.

learn about the true feelings of their spouses and how to control them (*female competition for domestic power in the patriarchal household*). Most of them answered my questions using expressions like “*Allah yḥafḍak min ‘ain bnadem*” (Allah protects you from people’s evil eye), or “*Allah yḥafḍak min sem al-bashar*” (Allah protects you from the spite of human beings). They blamed their misfortunes on particular relatives and neighbors from the same vicinity whom they believed to be responsible by the power of magic for the wreck of their lives (*The notion of mistrust*). Si Taher, who was supposed to bear *baraka* in his hand, had to use it to lift the *khaṭ*. He took a piece of sugar-cone wrapping paper, wrote the patient’s name, his/her mother’s name, then counted the number of letters in a special way and told the patient something about his future in general terms. Si Taher’s answers were responses to the client’s needs rather than real predictions. He would say to them that everything would be ok! Or that some prosperity would come on the way! (*Such expressions may soothe the client more than give him specific clues about his future*). “Of course, lifting the *khaṭ* is prohibited in Islam,” the *shrif* said. He added that he did not know how to do it. For him, even those who had learnt *damyatī* (a style of doing magic) could not get access to the future. He insisted that it was thanks to the *baraka* of his ancestor that he carried out the ritual of cure successfully: it was the *kalkha* of his ancestors as well as the magic blow he inherited from them that brought about the *shifa* (*the kalkha and the blow from the shrif’s mouth are believed to burn the ‘afrit haunting the patient and immunize the non-possessed from the effect of any possible act of sihr or evil eye*).

As for satanic doings, *al-a‘mal shayṭaniya* (black magic), the Buffi healers deny these practices and battle against them by undoing their effects. Yet, it seems to me that some healers may dabble in such practices if they are promised to be rewarded. It depends on the generosity of the customer. There are healers at the shrine who are ready to do everything for the sake of being well paid. There are some who claim to be *majdubs*¹² and can foresee the future; others claim to practice *ṣir‘ al-ghaibi* (invisible jinn eviction) in dreams.¹³ Suffice it to say that there

¹² A *majdub* is someone possessed by *al-jwad* and thought to be able to foresee the future. For the Sufis, he is seduced by the love of Allah and is in a state of *al-hal*.

¹³ A Buffi healer practicing in al-Hajeb narrated the following story in front of other healers who confirmed its events: “A boy with his mother came to the shrine. He suffered from limb paralysis. While sitting there the healer approached him and exorcised him. He said that during the ritual he received information from a jinni that the boy’s stepmother had done him a spell. So the healer set up sacrifice as a condition to the

are many charlatans who do not follow the tradition of exorcism as bequeathed by the ancestors at Ben Yeffu. The following example is a good case in point.

A woman came to the shrine accompanied by three girls whom she said were her daughters. She asked the *hufḍan* to do them a *fathā* (wish prayers) to get married. Her daughters appeared to be mature women in their forties. So, she seemed to be anxious that they were past the common age of marriage. When the *hufḍan* ended the *fathā*, the mother nodded to one of them to follow her. The place where they stood talking was within my earshot. So, I eavesdropped on the whole conversation. She asked the *hufḍ* to do some spell for two suitors who sought to marry her daughters. She insisted on hooking them before they might run away (*marriage in this sense becomes a trap*). The *hufḍ* suggested doing the spell in candles, a spell regarded by the *fūqha* as satanic.

Later on, I asked another Buffi healer about how the spell could be done in the candle. He explained that the *fqiḥ* would write the name of the person the woman wanted to influence as well as the magic formulas on the candle (*kay kteb liha fi sham'a*). One of the formulas I saw written on candles at a Buffi healer's shop was: "I burn you with fire! You come to me day and night" (*hragtek bi nar t-jinni blil u nhar*). Then the woman would burn the candle at home and it is supposed that the man intended, her lover or husband, would burn with desire for her. The healer added that the writing of one's name on the candle was perilous, especially if it was a specialist in satanic doings who did it. He told me the story of a woman who died within the span of six months on account of being harmed by the spell of the candle. She was attacked by a jinni because she exhausted him with importunate calls to bring her husband back home. The *ʿafrit* revealed during the *ṣri'* process that he struck her on account of her excessive evocations. At the *maḥkama* of Ben Yeffu he gave her six months as a deadline to release her but set up conditions she did not abide by afterwards. After six months, the woman committed suicide by throwing herself out of a balcony. The *ʿafrit* was merciless in his bond, the healer maintained.

cure of the boy. That night while the boy's mother was sleeping in one of the cells in the shrine, she dreamt of the healer wearing a white dress, mounting an *adham* (black) horse and started hitting her boy with a *kelkha*. The following morning she got up to be startled by her child being cured [a case of *ṣri' al-ghaibi*]. She brought the sacrifice (*dbiha*) that day, slaughtered it and distributed it at the shrine."

The Buffi healers state that there are some typical jinn sicknesses that usually result from the work of sorcery (*al-a'mal shayṭaniya*). These may be classified as follows:

- *tqaf* (spell of impotence): a spell done to render men impotent (*al-hemma ma kaynash*); for women to make them live in spinsterhood.¹⁴
- *tnakir* (spell of abhorrence): a spell done to someone in order to make him abhor the place or the person he used to love.
- *la'kes* (spell of hindrance): a spell done to impede one's search for a job, trade, spouse, or success.
- *dyyar* (buried spell): a buried spell in a forsaken cemetery or in any place very hard to find. The spell is believed to endure for so long.

These sicknesses are thought to be caused by jinn attacks. When someone bewitches a person with one of the spells mentioned above, the jinni is lured to enter the body of the bewitched host. The latter grows sick and starts having symptoms of possession. It does not mean that the jinni has to speak to manifest his presence in the patient. In all the sicknesses mentioned the jinni may not speak and is still believed to be present through the symptoms the patient displays. In cases of *tqaf*, the jinni is said to prevent the male from erection or from touching women altogether, like the cases of some patients married with *jenniyat* (female jinns) and thus are faithful to them. These females appear to them during their sleep and copulate with them. In cases of *tnakir*, the jinni is said to tempt the husband or the wife, for instance, to repel each other. In cases of *la'kes*, the jinni impedes the patient's way to success. S/he fails in all attempts to ascertain his/her identity. In cases of *dyyar*, the jinni ruins the patient's life so far as the *fuqha* cannot find where the spell is buried and dig it out.

Sihr, as I have observed it at the shrine, is a symbolic activity, the acting out of a ritual and "the expression of a desire in symbolic terms" (Beattie, 1964, p. 206). The constituents used in it are not carefully tested but chosen for their symbolic convenience. Its potency is not empirical but symbolic. As a ritual, it expresses a social sentiment rather than a testifiable fact. From a semiotic perspective, *sihr* may be assorted into two major categories: *indexical magic*, what Frazer terms contagious magic, based on physical contiguity, and *iconic magic*, what Frazer terms homeopathic magic based on likeness (cit. in Beattie, 1964, p. 206). The

¹⁴ *Tqaf* in popular culture also refers to some magic charm done to young girls by their mothers to protect their virginity. It makes their hymen impenetrable. It is usually undone till the wedding party is nighing its hour.

first category includes the spell that is done by taking things associated with the bewitched person—metonymic indices like pieces of cloth and belongings, or synecdochic indices like a hair, nail, semen—and destroying them. These attributes are indices of the existence of the whole body. By destroying them, the sorcerer intends to destroy the person to whom these indices belong. The second category includes the spell that is done by taking icons like pictures, dolls, or wax models of the bewitched person and torturing them. The sorcerer hopes to inflict pain on the person by tormenting the icon that stands for him/her. He may slash the icon's head, gouge out its eyes, melt it in fire, or stab it with pins thinking that this is what is going to happen to the bewitched person during his/her daily life. Here are some instances from the cases observed and stories collected about *sihr* at Ben Yeffu.

An example of indexical magic said to be discovered and cured by the Buffi healers is *dyar* (buried spell). It is a spell buried in a forsaken cemetery (*rawḍa al-mansiya*) or in any place very hard to find. Sometimes, it is buried within the area the targeted person for *sihr* lives so that s/he may step over it (*yetkhetṭah*). The meaning of the word *dyar* explains the nature of this type of *sihr*. It means that the spell is hidden somewhere. So long as it is hidden, the bewitched person is believed to suffer. What makes *dyar* indexical is that it targets the bewitched person's attributes (clothing, nails, hair...). Sometimes, footprints, steps and any other traces are also targeted indices. Here are some examples of *dyar*.

The first case is that of a divorced girl in her thirties, who consulted a Buffi healer to know about the future of her destiny in marriage. The girl comes from Duwar Drawsha, Larb'a Dyal Mugres. Her mother is a faithful saint-goer. Every year she tours shrines from Ben M'ashu to al-Khyayṭa. She is haunted by a Jewish jinni. Every *'id l-kbir*, she has a fit of possession on the slaughter day and drinks the blood of the slaughtered sheep. She does not seem to know much about modern medicine. For instance, when her husband had a spontaneous pneumothorax caused by tuberculosis and had to be injected air into his chest by means of a needle inserted into his chest wall, she thought doctors were going to kill him. From what I have observed in her family, the girl seems to be brought up in a *sihr* environment marked by magic practices.

The Buffi healer whom the girl consulted had recourse to a *khabir* (informer jinni). The latter revealed that the girl's ex-mother-in-law did her some spell and buried it in the bachelor's tomb in the *rawḍa al-mansiya* (forgotten cemetery). The Buffi healer asked for 700 dh. to dig it forth and "undo the spell" (*tbaṭil*). As a maidservant, she could

not afford the money the healer required. When I asked her whether she had reminiscences from her marriage days that she might associate with the *khafir*'s words, she said that once, during the Great Feast (*l-ʿid l-kbir*) when she went to see her mother, she came back to find her bedroom sprinkled with some liquid she thought to be *sihr*. The following day a quarrel took place between her and her husband and she hated him ever since.

The spell done to the divorced girl is indexical because it is connected with the girl's bedroom. By sprinkling the place where she lives (and where she may step over and touch the spell), the sorcerer intends to sprinkle her metonymically with the spell. So, what happens to the rest of the spell may happen to her. To explain this further let us take the example of *dem al-maghdur*. Sorcerers may sprinkle the place the targeted person frequents with the blood of someone who died or rather was killed in an accident. When people recognize that they have been bewitched by *dem al-maghdur*, they use the Moroccan expression: "*lahu lina dem al-maghdur*" (they have thrown upon us the "blood of the betrayed"—the word betrayed [*maghdur*] implies that the dead person was killed innocently). This blood is thought to be a very dangerous magical weapon to use against enemies. It is said that if a woman carrying the "blood of the betrayed" enters a house where there is a little baby, s/he dies on the spot. If a brawling husband who keeps bickering over details is furtively given the "blood of the betrayed" to drink (either by the wife or her mother), he will be hushed forever. This popular belief is based on a naïve analogy between the fate of the deceased person and that of the targeted person. By sprinkling the targeted person or one of his indices by the "blood of the betrayed," the sorcerer expects that he would be doomed to undergo the same fate.

Back to the story of the girl from Duwar Drawsha, we may notice that the burial of the spell in the forgotten cemetery is symbolic. It means that the bewitched person will remain without cure forever. The sign of the forgotten cemetery in which burial has stopped for a long time is a recurrent sign in many cases of *sihr* in the Moroccan maraboutic context (cf. Pandolfo's *l-qber l-mensi* "the forgotten tomb," 1997, pp. 167–8). The sign is a metaphor for the unknown. It evokes the world of death and oblivion, a sinister world that represents a socially shared imaginary threat. In the girl's case, a new sign is added, *the bachelor's tomb*. This indicates that the sorcerer expects the girl to remain single for the rest of her life. When I proposed this interpretation to the girl, she seemed to be familiar with the symbolism.

The second case is a story narrated by one of the healers at Ben Yeffu. He says:

In the summer of 1989, a minister from the Sultanate of Oman came to Ben Yeffu accompanied with his two sons and stayed in the region for a week.¹⁵ One of the two boys always had a fit of possession once the crier stood calling for prayer (*m'a l-waqfa*). The father first took him to a well-renowned Buffi healer practicing in Rabat. He was the same healer who was said to have cured the Princess's son from the Emirates. After 10 days of work with the boy, the *shrif* could not cure him. So he called for another *shrif* for help and took his patient to Ben Yeffu where they stayed about a week. The patient was living at a colonel's villa in al-Oualidiya, a touristic village, 25 kilometers from Ben Yeffu. In the morning, the boy was driven to Ben Yeffu and in the evening he was driven back home. During the process of *šri'*, the jinni possessing the boy revealed that the boy's stepmother did him a spell in a Jew's bone. He also revealed the *tbaṭil* (antidote). The *tulba* undid the spell through fumigation. The boy recovered from his sickness and the minister rewarded the *tulba* and went back home with his healthy son.

The burial of the spell in a Jew's bone is indexical. Unfortunately, there are no details about what is exactly buried but we assume it is one of the aforementioned indices related to the boy. I have quoted this story here to elaborate on the archetype of the Jew. What is the significance of burying the spell in a Jew's bone? As the Buffi community represents him, the Jew is an untrustworthy being. He is full of deceit and cunning. Even as a species of jinn, he is the most powerful one. He gives seven vows to leave the body and breaks his promises by the end. The burial of the spell in the Jew's bone implies that the boy's sickness may be almost incurable. The representation of the Jew in the Buffi community is grounded in the historical representation of Jews in Moroccan popular culture. Like in other gentile cultures, our culture has represented the Jew as an *other* who is mad, bad and evil. Historically, he was segregated in *mellahs* and pigeonholed as a veteran sorcerer. Though during the first phase of the expansion of Islam as a religion, Jews were assigned a special status as a community possessing a scripture and called the "people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitab*) and, therefore, were allowed religious autonomy, they were, however, required to pay a per capita tax called *jizya*. Moreover, they were regarded as the archetypal enemies of Islam for their attempt to bewitch the prophet.

¹⁵ The story of the cure of the minister's son is not a secret in the region. Everyone knows about it.

Now, their enmity is considered as an imminent threat to the peace of the Arab world. Their long occupation of Palestine, their tour de force in Lebanon, their misuse of power portray the Jews as invincible foes. This image is projected onto the world of *jinn*. The Jew whom the Arabs cannot defeat in the real social and political world is conjured up as a jinni very hard to subdue in the imaginative world. A better illustration of this argument is the world of possession in Palestine. Many curers come on Arab TV channels and the Internet and speak about Palestian traumatized prisoners suffering from possession by Jewish jinns (*ihudis*).

As for iconic magic, this may be practiced on the targeted person's picture. The Buffi healers are accustomed to receiving cases of people bewitched through the use of their picture. The picture is an icon that stands for its owner. Many young Moroccans are advised by their mothers never to give their pictures to strangers, especially to their girlfriends for fear of being charmed. When the *fqiḥ* mutilates the parts of the picture during the practice of spell, he intends to mutilate the limbs of its owner. A Buffi healer gives an example of a woman charmed by means of her picture:

About five years ago, a woman from Saudi Arabia was bewitched because her sisters-in-law took her picture to a *fqiḥ* to have a spell cast on her. He wrote a kind of *sihr* formula on the back of the picture. This caused her abdomen to swell up (*kay tenfekh*) every Wednesday and Saturday. She could not do anything about it. After some time the same *fqiḥ* came to tell the sick woman that once while he was conjuring (*kay 'azem*) her picture fell in his room. She believed him and gave him 20,000 dh., thinking that the spell was undone. But the problem went on. One of her relatives who knew the Buffi healer, the teller of the story, phoned him and asked him to come to their aid. She arranged for everything such as the visa and the plane ticket. When the healer arrived, he received 2 *ryals* per day. The woman who invited him told him that he would be given 30, 000 dh. and that he could have the sum before starting the work. He refused saying that he did not come to do business. After forty days of Qur'an reading, the woman was cured. Yet, she refused to pay him. After lots of trouble she paid him half of the amount. Later, the woman asked him to do something for her obese daughter to lose weight. He laughed and told her that she just had to eat less. His practice was not a game.

Another healer claims that the swelling of the belly may be caused by doing spells in the goatskin bag (*shakwa*) in which milk is churned. The iconicity of this practice is implicated in the fact that the movement of the belly imitates the movement of the bag. So, this sort of magic may also be called magic by imitation.

While practicing *sihr*, *fqihs* compose formulas and incantations thought to have the power to traverse the dimensions of space and time. *Sihr* in this sense epitomizes the power of the word be it written or spoken. Yet, inversely, it charms the practitioner and the client more than any one else. Starting from the assumption that language determines the subject's worldview, we may put forward the argument that the sorcerers are made up by the very words they are trying to make. The same language of *sihr* constructs them. They believe in its effect and live under its awe. It is the power of language that undoes the spell. The *fqihs* writes magic formulas that dispel all works of sorcery. To undo the spell of *la'kes*, for instance, some healers write amulets (*ktabat*) for their patients to rub their bodies with (*bash ytneflu bihum*), after immersing them in a small quantity of water (*ymhiw-hum fi l-ma*). The cleansing of the body with words indicates to what extent the maraboutic client is word-oriented. Most of the *fqihs*'s formulas of cure are declarations: doing things with words. A declaration is the successful performance of a speech-act like declaring somebody a chairman, and then he is chairman. If the *fqihs* declares you cured and the *sihr* is undone, then you are cured and it is undone. The mirage of the word replaces the deed. In other words, it is itself the deed.¹⁶ This has a perennial history in Islam where the divine power is able to create by language through the divine order *Kun* (Be!) that brings forth existence. God says: "for to anything which we have willed, we but say *kun* (Be!), and it is" (*surat An-nahl*, *aya*: 40). This mode of creation shows that the spoken word of God or that of his elects—saints and prophets—possesses the power to bestow life and cure.

The power of words in traditional healing may be found in other cultures as well. Let us take the example of the group of Lubavitcher Hasidic Jews and their use of biomedicine and religious healing. Simon Dein says: "according to the group's mystical text, Tanya, there is an intrinsic link between the physical and the spiritual and between religious words and the body" (2001, p. 41). The recitation of passages from religious texts is a frequent practice among Jews and Muslims. The latter have developed the tradition of drinking water washed off of Qur'anic verses—Muslims call it *tib nabawi*. For the Jews, according

¹⁶ Beattie says: "Belief in the power of words, thoughts and symbols is by no means a monopoly of simpler peoples. Most members of 'advanced' societies have at least some non-scientific, non-empirical beliefs and practices, which may (or may not) be embodied in formal religious—or perhaps political—rituals" (1964, p. 204).

to Dein, the Zohar as a text has been used in healing rituals. In fact the anthropological literature ever since Levi-Strauss abounds in instances of using words as powerful magic tools.

There are anthropologists who have demonstrated the power of metaphor in changing people's minds and leading them to change their behaviour. Daniel E. Moerman argues that "the metaphorical structure, the system of meaning, of a healing discipline is decisive in its effectiveness, as important as any other "actual," "physical," "pharmacological" elements" (1979, p. 60). Let us see through the following example how the power of words in the Buffi healing context may influence maraboutic clients. A healer says:

A woman used to miscarry in the third month of her pregnancy. Modern medicine could not do anything about it. She consulted me, and I reprimanded her for not coming to me at first. I told her: "A pregnant woman without talisman is like a house without door" (*l-ḥamla bla ḥjab bḥal dar bla bab*). Then I prescribed her a talisman (*ḥjab*) to strap round her waist till the ninth month. This process is known in traditional medicine as *t-ḥjār*. Now she has three children and leads a normal fertile sexual life.

When I interviewed the woman, I noticed that she was mistrustful and held a strong belief in *sihr*. She mistrusted her husband's relatives and held them responsible for her former miscarriages. She kept repeating the Buffi's adage to vindicate her statements and convince me of the existence of *sihr*. I understood that she was under the "placebo" effect of the *fqih*'s healing discourse. The statement, "*l-ḥamla bla ḥjab bḥal dar bla bab*," rhymes like a proverb. In popular culture, proverbs embody the wisdom and philosophy of life. They are viewed as laws organizing social existence. The average Moroccan makes use of them in his persuasive discourse and regards them as indisputable verities. By the use of these influential proverbs, he favors his success in convincing his interlocutors. The *fqih* as a matter of fact has convinced the woman of the utility of talismans if she wants to protect herself against magic spells and the evil eye. The proverbial statement he has used in his persuasive discourse offers an explanation that releases the woman from any sense of guilt towards her miscarriage and alleviates her anxieties about her pregnancy in a male-oriented society that puts pressure on married women to get pregnant. In this social atmosphere, the Buffi's adage above has a liberating effect on the woman because it releases her from the anxieties she suffers under the patriarchal order and helps her have a safe pregnancy. Generally speaking, such proverbs in Moroccan popular culture help the common man digest

his frustrations and disappointments. They attribute his failure to fate, the evil eye, *sihr*, and *tab'a*; thus exempting him from any sense of guilt towards his doings.

In a patriarchal society like ours, failure of pregnancy gives women a handicap. There are a lot of cases of divorce because of the sterility of the couple. The husband may divorce and get married again. Average male Moroccans still find it difficult to consult doctors if they cannot have children. They always blame it on women (cf. Dialmy, 1985; Dwyer, 1978; Maher, 1974). The status of the sterile woman (*l-'agra*) in Moroccan popular culture may be illustrated with a case I observed at Ben Yeffu during the *moussem* in August 2003.

A man came with his wife to the shrine. At the threshold of the *qubba* of Sidi 'Ali he started cursing. One of the *hufdan* asked him about his problem. The man said that the woman accompanying him was his first wife but was sterile. He married a second wife who created a lot of social problems for him without giving him respite. She did not get pregnant. He divorced her. He started cursing again. When I talked to his wife she said that they had a sixteen years-old girl but they could not have any children any more. So the woman was not sterile after all but apparently from her age she had already reached the stage of menopause. The *hfid* suggested his own solution for the problem by advising the supplicant to wish for a third wife. Then we did a *fatha* to pray for a good new wife while his first wife joined us in prayers. By the end, the *hfid* gave the wife a candle as *baruk* and promised them they would find good news on returning home. One can only wonder if this means that the wretched woman would light the candle again in the presence of a third nagging wife at home.¹⁷

The couple belong to the *'amma* (commoners). They are poor and illiterate. The wife says that her husband hardly provides for her, let alone for another wife. Yet, she agrees that he should have children. She seems to be a long-suffering woman who tolerates her husband's

¹⁷ Before the new family code, the average Moroccan male used to find it easy to change wives. For some, marriage was the free play of desire. Take the example of Sidi Mohammed u l-Hajj who had twenty two wives (Pandolfo, 1997). In the past, it was common to find a husband who was the judge, the scholar, the ruler who could marry and divorce on his own. There used to exist people who would celebrate marriages without paper for a number of days and then break the bond. It was well known under the rubric of *zawjuka nafi* (I offer myself to you in marriage). They just utter the *fatha* and get straight into their wives. The following day they would go off like Mohammed u l-Hajj. Nowadays, this prototype is getting in decline.

whims. She has internalized the male dominance successfully. She obeys her husband, the *shrif*, and any other potential male figure of authority. She regards her make-believe sterility a defect in her. Though she has a daughter, she still regards herself as a *'agra* (sterile) and thus inferior. In her opinion, the husband has the right to exchange females, the capital goods of the patrilineage. For her, his virility depends on his ability to procreate. This example illustrates the assumption that the maraboutic institution reproduces the dominant ideologies. The *hfid* maintains the pattern of male dominance over the female. He suggests a male-oriented solution. He views the female as a procreative machine the man can exchange any time it breaks down. He presumes that the woman agrees with him and points to her to stretch her hands in prayers. He fulfils the man's needs, oblivious of the woman's probable hushed protests.

Who are the social actors in the practice of *sihr*? Who targets whom and for what reasons? Most of the maraboutic clients are average Moroccan women, who are victims of a social atmosphere of mistrust and machination. They resort to the saint in search of cure. They go there in panting and collapse. They can no longer bear their scape-goated submissive roles in their crumbling families. Because they are unable to attain a measure of control over their destinies, they collapse in an altered state of consciousness and give voice to the dark areas of the unconscious where magical beliefs lurk. In a maraboutic parlance, they host jinns. They start a free association work building imaginary links between their miseries and the stereotypes of popular culture. It is significant that most of the patients who fainted and spoke (*naṭqu*) of *sihr* blamed it on stereotypical others like the mother-in-law (*'guza*), the neighbor (*jara*), and the mistress (*ṣahba*). Here are some stereotypes of the other culled out from the cases of possession observed at the shrine:

Table 4. Stereotypes of the Other

Stereotypical Sorcery Clients	Stereotypical Targeted Persons
Mother-in-law	Daughter-in-law
Wife	Husband
Stepmother	Husband's children
Neighbour	Neighbour
Mistress	husband

The major remark to put forward about the chart is that there is a binary opposition of natal family vs. marital/nuclear family. The first stereotypes to discuss, following this opposition, are the wife and the mother-in-law. “The wife tries to isolate her husband from his natal family to form her own, while the mother seeks to keep him integrated in hers and minimize his involvement with his wife” (Rassam, 1980, p. 175). To achieve her goals, each one competes for domestic power using whatever means available to her. The mother-in-law (*‘guza*) is the most scapegoated culprit in this contest.¹⁸ Because of her power over her son who is emotionally and agnatically attached to her, because of her “rearing and general doctor-knowledge and skills”, because of her direct access to the father-patriarch, she is accused of going to *fqihs*, buying antidotes to release her son from the love charms (*mḥabba*) cast on him by his wife. The wife is also accused by the natal family, especially the mother-in-law, to have bewitched their son if he shows affection and becomes emotionally involved with his wife. According to Amal Rassam, “this belief may partly explain the observation that men, in Morocco, seem to reserve their ‘romantic love’ for *les femmes libres* and prostitutes. These women are strangers, outsiders and as such, they lie outside the domain of domestic politics and household relationships” (1980, p. 175). Yet, the prostitute, the so-called stranger to domestic politics, may become the husband’s mistress and thus a potential culprit accused of harming the couple by casting *siḥr* on them, and competing for the lure of the husband away from his marital family.

The stereotypes of the *other* charted above delineate that the popular theme of *siḥr* revolves around the “stranger” who lurks in wait to upset the harmony of the marital or natal family. The wife is stranger to the agnatically related women; the mother-in-law is stranger to the marital family; and the stepmother is stranger to her stepchildren. All these women accept their submission to the male but resent to submit to each other. They consider man’s authority as *naturally* prescribed. To secure his continual need of them, these women keep struggling

¹⁸ *l-‘guza* and *rbib* represent recurrent themes in Moroccan popular songs and proverbs. Their representations display an unjust negative attitude of people towards them. A popular song about the *‘guza* begins thus: “You, mother-in-law! A rubber-pot head! You are bitter and your son is sweet (*l-‘guza ya ras dlu/nti harra u weldk ḥlu*)!” As for *rbib*, the proverb runs as follows: “the stepson is always a stepson even if he forges a river of honey and milk (*rbib ybqa a rbib wakha ydir wad men l-‘sel u wad men l-ḥlib*).”

in order to attain a position of power in the domestic sphere (see Rassam, 1980).

In sum, jinn possession caused by *sihr* shows that Moroccan families live in perpetual mistrust and disquietude. They seem to be on the lookout for an *evil other*/stranger who is lurking in wait to harm them and who may assume several masks of difference. He may be a familiar other like the stereotypes we have seen above or an exotic stranger like the savage jinni al-Basha Hammou (the butcher), or the deceitful female jinni 'Aicha al-Baghiya (the prostitute) who plays her husband false and breaks loose from the shackles of the patriarchal order that seek to control her sexuality. In short, the practice of *sihr* as it is described above can hardly be said to maintain social solidarity. It may provide a means of canalizing hostile emotions but it is conducive to social divisiveness.

2. *The Evil Eye* (al-*'ain*)

Patients tend to attribute the effect of the evil eye, apart from *sihr* and jinn, to every misfortune that befalls them. It is thought that the evil eye may affect their health, work, family, and luck. This theory of causation seems to be a stereotypical explanation given by the healers and accepted by the patients who find it socially convenient not to be accountable for their own deeds. By attributing their failures and misfortunes to *al-'ain*, people are no longer liable to their own doings and place responsibility on the *other*. By their belief in the power of the evil eye, they can bear with the frustrations of every day life. This belief releases them from any sense of guilt or responsibility towards their social disappointments. Unable to act and change their social conditions, they regard themselves as puppets in the hands of Fate, and see the world regulated by anonymous powers that steer the wheel of their fortune.

One of the powers these people may dread is that of the evil eye. To prevent its being cast upon them, they delve into augury. They evolve good and ill omens to divine the coming events. The trembling of the eye/eyelashes (*treḥrif dyal al-'ain/al-hāḥeb*) is interpreted as an auspice. If the right eye spontaneously winks, it means that a good event is coming; if it is the left eye, it means a bad event. The itching of the hand is also interpreted as an auspice. If the right hand itches, it is a signal that the person will receive money; if the left hand itches, it is a signal that the person will spend money (sometimes it is the reverse depending

on the person's habit which hand he stretches to take or deliver money with). The faces of other people are also regarded as auspices. It is said that there are people whose faces are ill omened. If a person sets eyes upon one of them while starting his day, s/he will be harmed. Women are also interpreted as auspices in the common man's augury. There is a proverb that says: "*gsaṣ ula nṣaṣ ḥartat ula wartat ula shed ḥetta nji*" (hair-locks, golden coins, cultivating, inheriting or keep this till I come back). Through this proverb the reader may notice the aleatory way of life the common man is submitted to. It shows that for him prosperity is a question of luck. One may be rich by inheritance, by a good harvest during a rainy season, by owning a deposit left by someone who deceased whilst traveling (especially in the past when people used to travel miles and miles on pilgrimage to Mecca and leave their wealth with trustful people). One can also be rich if one's luck brings one a good wife, a wife whose hair lock is auspicious (*guṣṭha mazṣana*). This is a gender-biased view representing the female as responsible by nature for the male's failure and success.

In fact, this symbolism is extended into rituals the average Moroccan regularly performs to protect himself from the cast of the evil eye. Some may sprinkle their houses with *henna* from Ben Yeffu to ward off evil spells. Some hang dried scorpions or hand-emblems at the threshold of their dwellings to chase away bad luck. Others weekly fumigate their houses with incense including alum (*shebba*) and gum-ammoniac (*fasukh*) to chase away the evil spirits.

As a consequence, jinns, the evil eye, magic and other cultural symbols carry through the ideological task of averting people's gaze towards imagined scapegoats held responsible for their own social frustrations. People become engaged in mutual mistrust and infighting detached from the political activities that influence their economic and social interests. The following example illustrates how the mechanism of mistrust, infighting and reciprocal incrimination work among the subalterns. An exchange between a fortune-teller (*shuwafa*) and some clients will be analyzed to shed light on how the *shuwafa* makes meaning of the notion of mistrust in her maraboutic parlance. As for clients, these are our research assistants. The focus will be then on how the evil eye is represented in the *shuwafa*'s stereotypical discourse. This exchange includes the following social actors: Khalid and Fatima, film assistants and the Buffi fortune-teller. This is a spontaneous exchange filmed during the *moussem* in August 2002 when I joined a film crew from France 5 channel as a scientific consultant. First the *shuwafa* refused

to speak to our assistant interviewers because she was averse to being filmed without being well paid. Afterwards, she made up her mind and started revealing Khalid's *secrets*.

- *Shuwafa*: Let's read your augury (*ndarbu lik al-fal*)! Don't give me this 25 dh.! You are filming me!
- Khalid: The man is not filming; people who film are coming later!
- Fatima: This is simply the family!
- Sh: [*addressing Khalid*] shut up! Are you human or not! The man is filming me! He filmed other people and gave them money! You want to laugh at me giving me some coins, while he is filming!

Khalid promised to give her more money. She started her work.

- Sh: If you are coming with faith (*niya*) you can realize your wishes... the plane exists [*you will get aboard*], the car exists [*you will drive*], the job exists [*you will find a job*], and prosperity and bliss exist [*you will make money*] (*tayara kaina, tomobila kaina, al-khedma kaina, al-khair u ttisir kain*)! Follow your work! You get angry easily and your head aches you! They are following you! Allah may lead them to the right path! Answer me! You don't have luck with people! "You milk milk onto people but they milk tar onto you" (*nta thleb tihum al-hlib u huma yhelbu 'lik al getran*)! You are a *shrif* from your mother and father, "a pure one" (*mkhanter*), "a charitable person" (*weld bab Allah* [literally, son of the door of Allah])! You keep your door open to every caller. [*Then addressing Fatima*] he is the son of a generous family! He gives a lot of charity!

In the meantime, the shuwafa was counting the beads of a rosary and had an egg in her hand.

- Sh: [*addressing Fatima*] He has the "bountiful jinns" (*l-jwad*)! So from time to time "he flares up" (*kay tqandesh*)? [*Then addressing Khalid*] Do not go till you take our relics (*baruk*) and our "antidote" (*tbatil*) against the evil eye and "people" (*al-bashar*)! The *majduba* speaks to you! Answer me!

Then she gave him a string to wear around his neck against al-'ain, some incense and some zhar (rosemary) to fumigate and perfume with. Before folding the incense in a piece of paper, she blew saliva on to it (a stereotypical way of transmitting baraka).

- Sh: We have given you rue (*al-harmel*) and cypress dried leaves (*al-'ar'ar*) to evoke *l-jwad* and "Allah makes it easier for you in everything, to get a job, trade, and progeny" (*Allah isakhkher lik fi khedma/fi bi' u shra/fi terrika/fi kulshi*)! Put some incense in the censer and burn it to fumigate the house and children with it!
- Ft [*addressing Khalid*]: have faith and sleep with the snake! (*dir niya u bat m'a al-hayya*)

The *shuwafa* appears to recognize Khalid's social status. She designates him as an immigrant. She tells him: "you will get aboard, you will drive, you will find a job, and you will make money." She imagines Khalid as the stereotype of the rich immigrant who comes back with

an expensive car and a lot of money to the poor family. That is one of the reasons she charges him much more than she usually does with her regular clients. She puts in front of her a table full of big beads (*luban*), rosaries and eggs. She also wears a green dress. In Moroccan popular culture, the heavenly green color is a sign of fertility and peace (saints are also covered with cloth of the same color) and the table (*mida*) is a sign of fortune telling. The word “*mida*” may be associated with the word “*mā'idah*” mentioned in the Qur'an. Allah says in *surat al-Mā'idah* [the Feast], *aya*: 112: “when the disciples said: ‘O Jesus, son of Mary, could your Lord send down for us a table (*mā'idatan*) laid with food?’” The word “table” mentioned in the Qur'an stands for food and prosperity. It also stands for creating miracles. The disciples are asking Jesus to show his God's miracle of sending them food from nowhere. The meaning of the table in the Qur'an may be nearer to the meaning of table in popular culture in which it stands for fortune telling, a “miraculous” work in which the fortune teller is thought to be able to see the future, especially the prosperous side of it.

The tradition says that *shuwafas* are chosen by jinns to do the work of fortune telling. The typical fortune-teller is someone who usually gets possessed at an earlier age (see the story of 'Abdeljalil cited earlier). S/he follows the maraboutic tradition. S/he has dreams signaling to him/her that s/he is chosen for this task. S/he tours saints to collect the *baraka* given to him/her by the bountiful (*l-jwad*). Such pilgrimage may last for months or years; it is a long trial imbued with rituals and sacrifices the fortune-teller has to perform in order to gain the saints' support in his/her work. Some fortune-tellers maintain that jinns “prosecute them in mythical courts” (*dakhlu m'ahum fi shra'*) like the court of Ben Yeffu and by the end the *shuwafas* surrender to their fate. They do what the jinns dictate. Other *shuwafas* accept the deal without legal proceedings. But all of them claim to follow a mystic trajectory, a road of trials before starting the work. Their jinns take them from saint to saint and from ritual to ritual, setting up conditions for them if they want to acquire *baraka*.

The *shuwafa* in the exchange above uses rosaries and eggs in her work. What do these items have to do with fortune telling and *al-'ain*, the concept under study? The rosary is used by *shuwafas* to count (*bash kay hasbu*) for the client. The process of counting with a rosary seems to be like a reckoning process in which the fortune-teller discovers the client's omen. It is another method of lifting the *khat*. The fortune-teller counts the client's name and his/her mother's name by means of a

rosary and speaks about the client's future. The egg here is a symbol of fortune. The fetus not yet born in the egg seems to be in the hands of Fate. He may die in the egg or he may break the shell and get out safe. But there is a strong likelihood that the egg stands for the eye in popular culture. It is an icon of the eye because its oval shape resembles that of the eye. The egg is used in curing eye-sicknesses like *tarsh* (the reddening of the eye). Most *fqihs* I have encountered during my fieldwork use the egg in the curing process. They write Qur'anic words on the egg, wave it round the eye and claim to bury it afterwards (I spied a *fqi*h eating the eggs furtively). This is an iconic cure in that what happens to the egg will happen to the sickness. The egg will decay in few days and so will the sickness.

Furthermore, the *shuwafa's* speech is full of stock-in-trade expressions customarily used by fortune-tellers. It revolves round the incrimination of the *other*. She does not specify which stereotype it is. She rather speaks in general terms. It is the ill will of people or the evil eye. She uses expressions like "they are following you! You don't have luck with people! You milk milk onto them but they milk tar on to you!" Such statements insinuate that social solidarity, trust and confidence are getting in decline in society. People run the risk of being chased by others. The *shuwafa* does not commit herself to standards of accuracy. General statements like these release her work from any liability to falsehood and at the same time do not reveal anything special about the client. They rather reveal how the subalterns maintain and represent their social relations. The frustrated individual who cannot fight against his handicap keeps gazing at the others desiring what they have.

The gaze is institutionalized among the masses to the extent that it becomes a form of gossip. People keep track of each other's comings and goings, gloating over their ruins and envying their success. The collective will is annihilated to cede the way to social relations of mistrust and incrimination. The statements above include a proverb the *shuwafa* uses to justify the *truth* that people are untrustworthy and that the client should be alert to placing confidence in them. The proverb says: "You milk milk onto people but they milk tar on to you." The opposition, milk vs. tar evokes people's ingratitude. It refers to the fact that people commonly do not acknowledge the sacrifices the person does for them. So, the good-doer should not expect people to be indebted to him. As an organizing law of social existence, this proverb represents people's ingratitude as *natural*. So, people should not be startled at each other's lack of gratitude. Thanklessness seems to be the norm.

In a patriarchal society like ours, ingratitude is mostly projected on women whose “caprice” and “fomented sexual desire” are interpreted as cultural forms of ingratitude. According to Amal Rassam,

Women in Morocco are considered to be morally, intellectually and physically inferior to men. The stereotype of the female is that of a weak, capricious and *untrustworthy* creature, one who tends to be ruled by her “instincts” and whose powerful sexuality, if left uncontrolled, can cause *disruption* and *social chaos*, or *fitna*. Man, believed to be vastly superior in all qualities, is then “naturally” vested with authority and is charged with the control and protection of the woman. (1980, p. 172)

The stereotype of the untrustworthy female is a recurrent motif in popular culture in which jokes and folk poetry defame women. The most recurrent proverbial representation of the betrayal of women and their ingratitude is conveyed in Sidi ‘Abderrahman al-Majdoub’s poetry that is part of our folklore up to the present, a poetry depicting the status of women in the sixteenth century Morocco.¹⁹ Here are some key verses quoted in Dyalmi’s study, *al-mara’ wal jins fi al-Maghreb* [Woman and Sex in Morocco]:

A. Female Cunning

1. Women’s chat cheers,
And teaches quick understanding.
2. They make a snare from wind,
And shave your hair without water.
3. Women’s market is foreboding!
Be Alert, you who is getting in it.
4. They show you from the profit a hundred weight,
And make you lose your capital.
5. The wiles of women are double,
And from their wiles come my sorrows.
6. She is mounting on the back of the lion,
And says: the he-goats will devour me.

¹⁹ See also how al-‘Akakkiza, a Sufi movement in the sixteenth century and on, advocated the free play of sexual desire and held the slogan that “women are like prayer-carpet. Pray and give your brother to pray.” To kill the earthly pleasures of the soul in the neophyte, the *shaykh* of al-‘Akakiza would ask his disciple to bring his wife. Then the new disciple would prostrate himself on the ground with his wife on him. The *shaykh* would lie on the wife and copulate with her. When he reached his spasm, he would ask his followers, the *fugra*, to follow one by one depending on their social rank in the Sufi group. For four centuries, al-‘Akakiza were a well-known and powerful subversive Sufi movement in Morocco. They existed in different areas from Oujda to the Sahara (see Najmi, 2000).

B. Female Lechery

7. The bird flew higher,
And perched on a rundown vine.
8. Women are all bitches,
Except those who are unable to be so!

C. Female Betrayal

9. Don't trust them for they may fool you!
They don't keep their word!
10. Fishes at sea are swimmers!
Women swim without water!
11. In the mountain, there is no known river!
In winter there is no warm night!
12. In the enemy, there is no merciful heart
And in women there is no kept promise. (1985, pp. 53–82)
[For the Arabic version, see Appendix II, text 2]

If we start with the first two lines about female cunning, we notice the foregrounded use of the word “snare” (*sharka*) that has a double meaning. It may mean union and alliance or trap. This double meaning signifies the double stereotypical personality women are thought to assume to deceive men—benevolent masks hiding malicious personalities. According to A. Dialmy, the poetry of al-Majdoub uses metaphors to naturalize women's betrayal. It juxtaposes two worlds, the cosmic world and the human world. These may be charted as follows:

Table 5. Synonymic Taxonomy

The human world	The cosmic world
female chat	wind
women	fish
women	birds
Women/enemy	mountains/winter
caprice	cruelty
betrayal	cold

Dialmy maintains that the social world is modeled on the cosmic world. Both worlds inspire fear in people. The cosmic world threatens people with the harshness of nature and the social world threatens them with the cruelty and betrayal of the *other* both inside and outside the periphery. Inside the periphery, the stereotype of the other is the untrustworthy woman who is naturally ungrateful. Outside the periphery, there is the Nazarene (Spanish and Portuguese) who craves to plunder the riches of the country. In the verses above, women are compared to fish and

birds. Like fish, they are cunning and experienced. You cannot catch them easily; they are swift, sneaky and full of wiles. Like birds, they lead a free sexual life. They are unable to control their animalistic desire. These images represent women as naturally capricious, cunning and untrustworthy; a picture that legitimates man's anxiety to control female sexuality thought to be chaotic, a sort of *fitna*.

To elaborate further on the representation of the image of the terrifying female in popular culture, I will expound how it is incarnated in a monstrous female jinni believed to hinder man's social progress. Patients who suffer from consecutive failure to realize their ambitions and dreams are told by Buffi healers to be hounded by a female jinni called *tab'a*, or *al-qraina* that utterly hampers their way to success. It is thought that unless patients appease her wrath by sacrifices and fumigation, she may never slacken her chase.

3. *The Female Pursuer (tab'a)*

According to Buffi healers, *tab'a*, or *al-qraina* as some healers prefer to name it, is a female jinni (*jenniya*), or rather, a fierce jinni (*'afrita*) that harms people by impeding their way to success. According to Sayouti (died in 911 A.H./1505 C.E.), "*tab'a* is *um šabyan* that demolishes households and palaces, and impoverishes people day and night" (p. 247; author's translation). According to the same author, when King Solomon issued orders to chain all rebellious *jnun*, soldiers came from heavens and earth to fulfill his decree save for *tab'a*. The soldiers warned the King of her monstrosity and told him that his territory was doomed to extinction if *tab'a* was kept released. He immediately ordered his soldiers to enmesh her. In the twinkling of an eye, she was dragged in chains in front of the King. She looked very old; her molar teeth were like the tusks of an elephant, her hair like leaves of palm-trees, smoke emanating from her nose, her voice like thunder and her eyes like lightening. When the King set eyes upon her, he prostrated himself in fear to Allah and then addressed her: "who are you damned monster!" she replied: "my name is sorrow daughter of sorrow—*l-hima bent l-hima*—and my nickname is *um šabyan* (the mother of children). I have ten names: *qalnush* (1), *maqlush* (2), *hailush* (3), *qarqush* (4), *'amrush* (5), *ilāqush* (6), *qamṭanush* (7), *qush* (8), *maqarqaṭush* (9), *um maldam* (10) [all these labels may evoke fear and disgust in the addressee because of their repulsive sound and indecipherable meaning—no need to mention here that many incantations, talismans, and magical names originate from ancient semitic languages like the Syriac and Hebrew alien to the

Moroccan Arabic]. I live in the air between the sky and earth!” When the King asked her about her targeted victims, she replied that she targeted pregnant women and little children. She also harmed people in their health and fortune. She ate flesh and drank blood. When the King exorcised her with foreboding threats, she gave him seven vows not to touch those people who carry on them his talismans. She revealed to him the secrets of undoing her magic influence (for further details see chap. 175, *rahma* [Mercy] by Sayouti).

According to the same author, *tab'a* has met the Prophet of Islam, Mohammed. When he was walking in town he met a beautiful woman with blue eyes and asked her:

Prophet: Where are you going?

tab'a: I am going to those who crouch in their mothers' laps to devour their flesh and drink their blood.

P: “(Allah) damn you!”

T: Please do not damn me! I have twelve names. I won't harm he who knows them and carry them with him.

P: What are these names, you damned one!

T: *lawlabun* (1), *khal'asun* (2), *dusun* (3), *mal'usun* (4), *sayusun* (5), *salmasun* (6), *tuḥun* (7), *tusadun* (8), *aṣra'un* (9), *rabbun qaruhun* (10), *'ayqudun* (11) *wa salmanun* (12). (Sayouti, n.d., chap. 175, p. 253; author's translation)

Tab'a as it is described above is stereotyped as an untrustworthy insatiable female. She is described as a monstrous woman who eats children and destroys family bonds. This mythical description stems from a presumed need in a patriarchal order to control and protect women. The collective threat women represent for the male world is projected on the world of jinns. The assumption that if women are left unrestrained can cause tumult and chaos, *fitna*, is represented in the myth of *um ṣabyan*, especially in the second version where she is a model of beauty (femme fatale). Also, the myth of this female jinni may have an organizational function in society. *Um ṣabyan* is referred to in popular culture as *rahmat Allah* (the mercy of Allah)—a euphemistic expression that some parents prefer to use so as not to harm their children when threatening them to call the jinni if they do not cease their naughtiness.

In the Buffi healing system, *tab'a* may be caused by *sihr* or may be *slaṭa* (mishap) ensuing from unknown causes. For a person to chase away the *tab'a*, he has to “intend” (*yenwi*) to rid himself of it. Then, he would take shed hair (*mshaga*) after combing, parts of his clothes, belongings, nail-cuttings, or body-hairs and throw them in a sanctified place specialized for this intent (e.g., al-ʿAgba al-Ḥamra [the Red Slope] at Ben Yeffu). In this sacred place, visitors throw their molted hair or

underclothing rags by hanging them on thorns (*shṭab/shawk*) so that the *tab'a* does not follow them any longer. Thorns are mentioned in the Qur'an in *surat al-Anfal* [Spoils of War], *aya*: 7: "*wa tawadduna ghaira dhāti shawkatin takunu lakum* [you desired the one that was not armed]." "*Shawka*" has the meaning of weapon. The thorn plant is like a weapon in that it has a cutting edge. In Classical Arabic, we say: "*rajulun shā'iku ssilāh*" meaning a man whose weapon is very sharp. In our culture, when someone is referred to like a *shaṭba*, it means that he is sticky and does not bend easily. *Shṭab* is also referred to like glue in that its thorns stick. In the Buḥārī maraboutic context, thorns are symbolically used as weapons against the evil eye. Their spines are meant to prick, sting, wound and gouge out the envious eye.

The word "*tab'a*" (female pursuer) also evokes the word "*tābi*" (pursuer/follower). The word "follower" has the sense of servant, adept or adherent but the word "pursuer" refers to someone who follows people in order to overtake, capture, kill, or defeat them. This is the meaning of *tab'a* in Moroccan popular culture. The predominant assumption is that people are pursuing others by gloating over their misfortunes and envying their prosperity. It is believed that our society is full of *quwaṣa* and *ḥaḍḍaya* (evil onlookers) who keep trail of what one is doing and envy one's success. In popular quarters, this process takes the form of gossiping and meddling with the neighbors' affairs. It is what Desmond Morris terms *tempting survival by proxy*.

One form this takes consists of meddling in other people's emotional lives and creating for them the sort of chaos that you would have to go through yourself. This is the malicious *gossip principle*: it is extremely popular because it is so much safer than direct action. The worst that can happen is that you lose some of your friends. If it is operated skillfully enough, the reverse may occur: they may become substantially *friendlier*. If your machinations have succeeded in breaking up their lives, they may have a greater need of your friendship than ever before. So, providing you are not caught out, this variation can have a double benefit: the vicarious thrill of watching their survival drama, and the subsequent increase in their friendliness. (Morris, 1969, p. 164)

According to Hijazi, the gossiping principle may abound in poor social contexts where people are bored of gross under-stimulation. Caught in a social vacuum marked by unemployment, poverty, indecent housing, lack of opportunities, the subalterns spend their time projecting their conflicts and frustrations on each other. They think that the destructive gaze of the other causes their social stagnation. It is conceived of

as having an effect on the individual's life. Thus, individuals tend to hide their doings from each other. Getting a new job, traveling abroad to work, getting promoted, getting married, and having a new baby are all considered achievements to be done as furtively as possible to escape the persecution of evil onlookers. To see the world in terms of persecution, that is when a person persists in believing that he is the target of hostile actions or insinuations, aimed at him by some enemy or band of enemies, when this is actually not the case, is a form of cultural paranoid delusion. The identifying marks of this cultural paranoia are people's readiness to accept the slightest evidence in support of the belief of being persecuted and their inability to realize the evidence that contradicts it.

The following case quoted from the *mahkama* at Ben Yeffu elucidates the idea above that people are ready to entertain the flimsiest proof in favor of the belief of being chased by the *other*. During the *moussem* in August 2003, a woman came with an obese daughter to the shrine. They entered the *qubba*, made the ritual visit and returned to the *mahkama* to receive the healers' *baruk* of *ṣri'*. The daughter sat in front of the healer; he recited some Qur'anic verses over her and slapped her on her back and legs. During the *ṣri'* process, her mother told the healer that her daughter had *la'kes*. The healer explained that it was caused by *tab'a* and thus needed a sacrifice to chase it away. The mother asked what kind of sacrifice. The healer said that a red rooster would be enough to chase the *jenniya* away. She asked where to buy it. They told her to give them the money instead of buying a real sacrifice. That would achieve the target just as well. Then they gave her the ingredients of the saints' elixir and instructed her to do as follows: to get a bottle of water from the saint's well, some *ḥarmel* (rue), some *zīt l-'ud* (olive oil) and some *melḥ* (salt), to mix up these with the *ḥjabat* (amulets) they gave her, and then give her daughter to drink for seven days.

The girl comes from Casablanca. She does not seem to be well acquainted with visiting shrines. It is her mother who gives her and the two other brothers instructions about how to do the *zyara* ritual. When the girl kneels in front of the *ḥufdan* in the *mahkama* to receive the *baruk* of *ṣri'*, she does not know what to do. She does not talk to the *ḥufdan*. It is her mother who speaks on her behalf. The girl has kept silent throughout the *ṣri'* process. The mother seems to be well informed in traditional healing since she does not inquire about anything the healer says. She first says that her daughter has *la'kes*. She accepts the explanation the healer puts forward and gives the money

for the sacrifice. The healer addresses her rather than her daughter regarding how to prepare the cure potion. These are indices indicating that the mother is implicated in the maraboutic practice (for a full treatment of the role of the mother in maraboutic performances, see chap. 3, section A). Her non-empirical beliefs drive her to blame the *other* for her daughter's failure, and prevent her from recognizing that her daughter's obesity may be a major psychological handicap that should be therapeutically treated.

4. *Harming Jinns Unknowingly* (al-aghlāt m'a al-jenn)

According to the Buffi healing system, jinn possession may not only be caused by the evil machinations of the *other* but also by the inadvertent misbehaviour of the possessed. The Buffi healers label these causes *al-aghlāt m'a al-jenn* (wrong-doings against jinn). These may be assorted into four major categories: frequenting dirty places, frequenting dark places, frequenting deserted places, and undergoing emotional shocks.

The Buffi healers describe these categories as follows: they maintain that frequenting dirty places may cause jinn possession. They warn their clients not to go to the toilet in darkness, not to throw hot water in the toilet or the sink, not to enter impure places (*al-amakin najisa*) without saying the name of Allah (*al-basmala*), not to take a shower or wash in dirty places, not to throw hot water in the Turkish bath (*hammam*), nor to sleep in impure places (dunghills). The Buffis also warn their clients not to be actively engaged with hot water during the night, not to urinate in the open air at night, not to step over blood or gutters at night, not to wash in dark places nor to answer if they hear calls in darkness. As for frequenting deserted places, clients are warned not to sleep alone in empty houses, not to go to forests alone nor to go to sea while undergoing an emotional shock. In fact, emotional shocks are considered as essential causes of jinn possession. Grief (*dim*) is the maraboutic appellation for being traumatized. The healers receive recurrent cases of people possessed owing to emotional shock. The patient is possessed because he cannot admit the death of a dearly loved relative or the occurrence of an unexpected mishap (injury, injustice, mistreatment, failure, bereavement, etc.) and then wreck himself on the reef of his own temperament.

These categories cited above seem to be based on the binary opposition, cleanness vs. dirt. This opposition is also related to the precepts of Islam that decree the cleanness of Moslems, starting from ablutions, the cleanness of the body, to the cleanness of the soul from sins—*tahāra*

(purity). The chief concern for Muslims is to remain clean (body/soul) for their daily encounter with Allah in their prayers. To instil this ideal in the growing individual and develop in him the spontaneous belief in cleanness, myths and rituals are constructed to engage the individual emotionally and intellectually in this practice. As a child, for instance, the individual is intimidated by the belief that dirty places are haunted. He has to keep clean in order to be safe from jinn attack. Thus the community is organized round the principle of cleanness. The opposition “cleanness vs. dirt” may generate the further opposition “sacred vs. profane,” which in turn may generate the further opposition “order vs. disorder,” which in turn may generate the further opposition “form vs. formlessness,” which in turn may generate the further opposition “being vs. non-being,” and which in turn may generate the further opposition “life vs. death.” So, cleanness is an organizing principle in all aspects of social life—food, sex, sports, work, and religious activities.

Generally speaking, the Buffi healers distinguish between two types of jinn possession: the first type is caused by magic spells (*sihr*)—already dealt with above. The second type is caused by the accidental misbehavior of the patient. This type of jinn possession is identified by the Buffi healers in the following sicknesses:

- *makay dihsh n'as*: lack of sleep (insomnia)
- *tarsh*: suffering from a painful redness of the eye, sometimes with loss of sight.
- *la'rusa*: semi-facial paralysis that distorts the face, the mouth, the cheeks and the eyes which sometimes cannot be closed.
- *zhaf*: leg-paralysis.
- *raged 'ih jenbu*: limb-paralysis.
- *şda' fi rras*: headache (like *şqiqqa* [one-sided headache/migraine]).
- *nazif dyal l-mra*: female hemorrhage from the vagina.
- *nazif dyal rajel*: male haemorrhage from the nose.
- *l-mselmin/l-ryah*: the patient suffering from this sickness usually falls in fits (*kay tih*).
- *maskun* (haunted): people attacked by this sickness usually suffer from nightmares and apparitions, and produce disoriented speeches... Places may also be *maskunin* (haunted). Thus, they need the *fqiḥ*'s exorcism to be re-inhabited. There are many houses evacuated or sold by their owners on account of being haunted by *jnun*.²⁰

²⁰ Naamouni distinguishes between four types of jinn possession also applicable to the Buffis' mythology: 1. *madrub* (*frappé par un djinn*): in the Buffi maraboutic context the *madrub* is the one who suffers from *tarsh*, *şalya*, *la'rusa* and other forms of limb paralysis. 2. *maskun* (*habité par un djinn*)—already explained above. 3. *mamluk* (*possédé par un djinn*). At Ben Yeffu, the *mamluk* is unable to marry, to frequent people, and to live up to the

If we compare both lists of jinn sicknesses the Buffis cure, sicknesses caused by magic spells and those by the accidental misbehaviour of the patient, we notice that they revolve round the themes of sex, body paralysis and falling in paroxysms—what the Buffis call “*kay tih aw kaṭih*” (he falls or she falls). I suppose that the insistence on sex, body paralysis and “falling” has to do with the perceived danger that the loss of masculinity for men may pose. In a male-oriented society like Morocco, men ought to live up to the standards of male conduct. To play the role of the father-patriarch, they must have qualities like virility, forceful personality and continuation of the male line generally assumed to attract their wives’ respect for them. So, if men lose their masculinity, for instance, by being sexually impotent or bodily disabled, they run the risk of being effeminate and thus may lose control over their households. This conception of illness as feminization may be rooted in the father-son relationship as the analysis of the founding legend suggests in chapter one. Feminization is the inadequacy, weakness and impotence of the male to perform his social roles and their concomitant tasks. The symptomatology of many sicknesses mentioned above—paralysis of limbs, handicap, falling, and impotence—indicate a disability to play the male role. According to the Buffis, an impotent male may tour the *fugha* cherishing the desire to retrieve his sexual potency and thus his authority.

Feelings of inadequacy, weakness and impotence reflect the stultified conditions of the common man. He is caught in a state of paralysis. He cannot act. His pilgrimage to saints is a quest for insight and explanation to his situation. He ignores the causes and results of what is happening to him. The curers whom he consults do not attempt to give him insight into the nature of his problem. They have ready-made explanations: he is not responsible for his conditions. With the help of the group surrounding him, they urge him to accept that he is a passive recipient of others’ evil-doings. He is absolved of any potential blame. There is a scapegoated *other* who shoulders the responsibility. The *other* is stereotyped as brutal, deceitful and cunning. He may be a human being like the “mother-in-law” (*guza*) or a spirit like the *jenniya* ‘Aicha Qandisha. Both embody the image of the *other* who should be pacified

standards of virility. 4. *malbus* (*endosé par un djinn*): At Ben Yeffu the *malbus* is thought to be a person unable to gain self-control. This seems to be the most dangerous state of possession. “*Le djinn dirige tous les comportements et les actions du malade, qui devient le principal agent exécuteur de ses décisions et de ses intentions*” (Naamouni, 1995, pp. 124–28).

and controlled. Both share the stereotype of the female represented in popular culture as treacherous, untrustworthy and sexually insatiable.

In a nutshell, the Buffi healers accept every illness or case presented to them, inferring that every case brought to them is caused by *jnun*—an explanation that helps the commoners release themselves from any sense of guilt towards their social frustrations and pay less money for their cure. The most relevant illustration to this belief is the case of the girl who suffered from myopia and was brought by her mother to the shrine (August 2003). The girl was wearing thick glasses and did not see well. A *hfid* gave her his benediction and tapped gently with his *kalkha* on her eyes after she had removed her glasses. When the *hfid* was asked whether that eye sickness could be caused by *jnun*, he replied: “They live in the eyes.” This last case further illustrates the ideological inclination of the Buffi healing discourse.

To attract more and more followers, the Buffis spread the idea that *jnun* exist everywhere and could harm people with all types of sicknesses. Thus they validate their practice and make themselves valuable to a large segment of the population that holds a fervent faith in magical beliefs. They construct their healing practice into a discourse of power in which they play the role of the master and the jinni/patient the role of the servant, a discursive logic that has created a Buffi order with its adherents from the subaltern groups, those who squeeze a meager existence by the sweat of their sinews, and come regularly to the shrine to seek “refuge” (*hmayya*) from the uncertainties of everyday life.

In the following chapter, the Buffi discourse of power can be observed in the drama of jinn eviction with its schema of domination and submission. The healer and the patient engage in a social interaction culturally framed by power relations. By virtue of his *sharifian* lineage and charisma, the *shrif*-healer occupies a dominant position while the patient occupies a subordinate one. The patient is introduced into a maraboutic ritual practice that instils in him patience and faith in the distributing centre of *baraka*—the saint—and warns him to have no trust or confidence in the members of his social group for the havoc they are believed to wreak on him. Exposed to all abject forms of submission, the patient is disciplined into acquiescence and patience, and trained to endure his own social frustrations in silence.

CHAPTER THREE

JINN EVICTION AND OTHER RITUALS AS DISCOURSES OF POWER

Like all successful ideologies, the maraboutic ideology works by image, symbol, habit, ritual and legend. It responds to the individuals' deep-seated irrational fears and needs and thus is likely to last for long. To figure out how this ideological discourse is constructed and sustained within the maraboutic edifice, it is necessary at this point to analyze the functioning of the healer-patient's discourse, or in the maraboutic parlance, the healer-jinni's discourse and other discursive forms like the patients' dreams and healers' narratives. How does this pacifying discourse function? How does it "materialize" beliefs into practices? How does it represent the unquestioned domination of the *shrif* over the patient/jinni? How does it work to re-affirm its ideological control? First and foremost, we start with the analysis of the ritual of pilgrimage to the shrine.

A. *The Ritual of Pilgrimage (zyara)*

Saluting the saint is a ritual in and of itself. It consists of particular ritualised tasks the visitor has to perform in order to accomplish his pilgrimage to the shrine. These tasks express the visitors' submissiveness, demonstrating that they have successfully internalised the master-servant logic. In every ritual they perform, they humble themselves before the saint; they implore him to soothe their sorrows; they prostrate themselves in front of the power of his descendents "to tread upon them" (*ya'fashum*). The clients believe that the *shrif*'s trampling inspires cure and that his slaps and beatings chase away *jnun*. Playing possum in front of the *shrif* is a ritual intertwined with the maraboutic client's deepest unconscious roots. Each gesture the client performs expresses his perennial adherence to the maraboutic order, an adherence that molds the client's behavioural patterns and beliefs into submission. A detailed examination of each ritualised task performed by the visitor shows that these are designed according to a uniform structure of submission. These tasks may be charted in the following order:

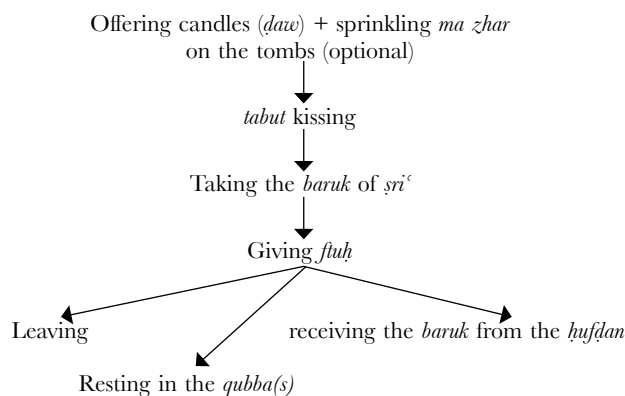
The Ritual of *zyara*

Fig. 10

Among the tasks, visitors first buy candles from the nearby shops and take them to the shrine as *zyara*. They either take them inside the domed-rooms (*qbab*) and put them on the coffin (*tabut*) of the saint or give them to the *ḥuḍḍan* in the *maḥkama*. But the predominant practice is that visitors give them to the *ḥuḍḍan*. Candles symbolize life, hope, the enlightened future, lucidity and meaning. Light is opposite to darkness, death, desperation, obfuscation and confusion. By taking the candles to the shrine and by being given one or two candles as *baruk* (sacred relics) by the *ḥuḍḍan*, the visitors conjure up a possible opulent outcome to their actions. Candles are called *daw* (light). The word is used in rhymed proverbial statements to legitimise the practice as an indisputable verity. It is said: “*daw bi daw*,” implying if you offer light (candles) to the saint, he will enlighten your way in return. It is also said: “Emit light on him; he will enlighten you (*dawi 'lih, idawi 'lik*)!”

Furthermore, there are visitors who take distilled orange blossom water (*ma zhar*) to the shrine and sprinkle the tombs and other visitors with it. This water is used here as perfume. It symbolizes prosperity and well-being. Distilled orange blossom water is used in different occasions such as weddings and funerals. In funerals, the dead corpse is sprinkled with the water as a gesture indicating people’s hope that the dead person is journeying to paradise. By taking blossom water to the shrine people conjure up a moment of impending affluence and bliss. I have also observed women taking *henna* to the shrine. They distribute it among the other women present. This *henna* has been prepared at the shrine and is thus believed to contain more *baraka* than *henna* prepared

at home. *Henna* in general contains *baraka* and is associated with feasts. It is ritually used during weddings, name giving ceremonies (*sbu's*), religious feasts (*l-ʿid l-kbir* [the Great Feast], *ʿashura* [a feast celebrated on the 10th day of Muharram in the Islamic calendar], *l-ʿid sghir* [the Small Feast]), circumcision (*khtana*), and any other happy social gatherings. Moreover, it is considered as a leaf from paradise (*warqa mina al-janna*). The saying goes: “*dir l-henna yhen lik Allah* (put *henna* on and Allah will be kind to you).” *Henna*, therefore, is the symbol of prosperity and bliss. We need not dwell on the cultural significance of its green colour. By the distribution of *henna* at the shrine, visitors build up communion with each other and their visit becomes a happy social gathering for all. The collective will is celebrated.

The visitors’ first task evinces them as subordinate to the saint while constructing their actions. They seem to be marching in darkness and in dire need of a torch to give them light and guidance. Giving candles to the *hufdan*, sprinkling *ma zhar* on the visitors and tombs and rubbing their hands with *henna* are all hopeful gestures cherished as signals expecting fulfilment. By these acts, visitors centre their hopes on the saint to fulfil their wishes. What may be inferred from this is that the maraboutic clients seem to lack confidence in their potentials and come to seek action by proxy. As they don’t trust their ability to act, they cherish the hope that the saint will act on their behalf.

The second task the visitors perform is saluting the saint. Visitors use the expression “*sir t-zur l-ʿabi*,” “go to visit the thresholds.” They proceed to the *darih* of either saint though most of them start with the first one on their way, Sidi ‘Ali’s tomb. Some start the ritual by kissing the walls of the entrance portals. Then they walk to the wooden coffin erected on the tomb. They kiss all four pillars at its corners. Some kiss all four pillars, others only one or two. Women carrying their children on their back also hold the child towards the tomb to let it touch its face/mouth or kiss it. Some people lower their heads to kiss the fabric covering the coffin, wipe their tears with it and bury their face or their upper body in it. These are people who come to complain to the saint about the sorrows they suffer at the hand of other people or from life in general. They centre their hopes on the saint to relieve their sufferings. Some may even weep by the wooden coffin while resting their head on one of its corners or on the coffin itself. Others sit against it and put their feet under it. They do it for sickness like sciatic pains (*buzellum*) and rheumatism. The assumption is that when you cover your limbs or aching parts with the cover of the coffin this may heal them from all ailments. Visitors may also lean with their backs or sides on the coffin

(*ysendu 'la siyyed*) to realise their wishes. One of the visitors leaning on the *tabut* said to another: “I want to sit for a while to listen to the men of the land (*ana baghi ngles shwiya ntšanneṭ l-rijaḷ l-blad*).” There are visitors who cover themselves completely to the extent that they are immersed in the *tabut*. The icon of protection is carried to its limits: no body part is left outside the cover, meaning without protection. There are other visitors who stretch their arms under the *tabut*, and pull out hands full of mouldy dust (*ghmal*), and then wipe them over their forehead, cheeks and neck. The deeper they go, the older the dust and the more related it is to the saint’s *baraka*.

In addition to their ritualised acts of kissing and wiping out their tears with the cover of the saint, visitors utter invocations imploring the saint to help them cope with the wretchedness of their social life. Excerpts from these invocations show that the master-servant schema is the basic pattern that governs the supplicants’ interactions with the saint. All the expressions and images the supplicants invoke reproduce the authority of the saint and reduce the supplicants to inferior positions relying on the power of the saint to persevere coping with their frequent social frustrations. Here are some examples taken from the visitors’ invocations:

1. O Mulay Sultan! O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! You of the red soil! I have come straight to you and Allah is destination! I want with your power and the power of Allah to have my needs fulfilled!
2. I lean on you! See to my situation, O Holy Saint!
3. O Mulay Sultan! O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! You of the red soil! O undoer of mires! Save me from disgrace and see to my situation!
4. O Mulay Sultan! O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! I have come to you to dispel my sorrow and cure my *tqaf* (impotence for men, or spinsterhood for women, due to magic charm)!
5. O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! If you come to my help, I will bring you the offering you have asked!
6. O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! O you beautiful crown! With your power give me the loaf (a metaphor for *baraka*)!
7. O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! Promise me to heal this sick person!
8. O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! I implore you!
9. O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! I need you and stand by your door!
10. O Mulay Sultan! O Sidi ‘Abdelaziz! I have called you to wipe my tears and see to my situation! I have come to you in sorrow and complaining about them to you!¹

¹ The Arabic version reads as follows:

All these expressions are standard forms of invocation people use while supplicating saints to help them realize their wishes. Of course these vary from one individual to another depending on each one's skill at improvising the most expressive social form of submission required. There are people who use the words unknowingly just out of imitation but faithful saint-goers seem to be accustomed to displaying their submission in the most obsequious linguistic form available to them. From these invocations the saint appears to be a powerful distributing centre. He is referred to as a great Sultan, undoer of mires and "tamer of the mad" ("tuwa' al-majnunin"). The expression "Mulay Sultan" precedes any form of invocation. It seems to be the most predominant linguistic form of address in the maraboutic social context. When I visited Sidi Mas'oud Ben Hsin in the province of El Jadida and Bouya Omar in the region of Marrakech, I heard the same expression. Both saints cure jinn possession and are considered Sultans in their own realm. The Sultan seems to be the most powerful and only distributing centre to these subaltern groups. In fact, the political Sultan-subject schema is reproduced at the shrine with all its ritualised displays of affection and social forms of submission (See Hammoudi, 1999, pp. 129–175).

Such invocations above express the submissive attitude the supplicants assume before the saint. They lean on the saint. They wish that he honours them in society, undoes their "mires," soothes their sorrows, wipes out their tears and bestows prosperity on them. If language determines people's worldview, these visitors' language makes them appear to foster a passive attitude towards their lives. They lean on the saint hoping that he would act on their behalf. They conjure up a moment of success by proxy.

- 1– *A Mulay Sultan/A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/A hamer trab/jit qasdak ul maqsud llah/bghit bijahek u jah Allah hajti maqdiya*
- 2– *ana sennadt 'lik tshuf men hali a sid l-wali*
- 3– *A Mulay Sultan/A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/A hammer trab/A fekkak l-wahail/rani 'ari 'lik lama tshuf men hali*
- 4– *A Mulay Sultan/A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/jitek tfaji hemmi u tshfini men tqaf lli 'andi*
- 5– *A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/ila nta jitini 'win/tjik l-marfuda li tlabti*
- 6– *A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/A zin ttja/bi jahek t'ini l-khbiza*
- 7– *A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/ana fi 'arek lama tshfi had l-'il*
- 8– *A Sidi 'Abdelaziz ana mzauga fik*
- 9– *A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/ana mahtaja lik u waqfa babak*
- 10– *A Mulay Sultan/A Sidi 'Abdelaziz/'ayyet 'lik tmseh dmu'i u tshuf men hali/rani jayak madyuma u shakya bihum lik*

The submission of visitors is not only reproduced in their performance of the ritual of *zyara* but is also incarnated in the design of the coffin itself. It is a square wooden framework of 2 m long, 1.7 high, by 1.5 deep. When the supplicants sit or lean by the framework, they take the position of submission to the power of the saint. Though the corpse of the saint is buried underground, a podium of authority is constructed to make the saint's tomb look higher than the supplicants. With this framework the saint towers over them as their ever-protector.

The third task visitors perform is bowing in front of the *hfid*, the descendent of the saint, to receive his *baraka* through a physical contact called the *baruk* of *şri'*. This practice is believed either to awaken the jinni haunting the patient if the latter is possessed or immunize him against jinn-attack if he is not possessed. This contact is structured by the dichotomy of the *şrif*-master and patient-follower. Though there are some visitors who may leave immediately after saluting the saint, the majority render themselves to the *hufdan* to receive the benediction of the saint by means of a ritual of *şri'*. That means the *hfid* will press the person's head between his hands holding him by the forehead and the back of his head and recite over him formulas from the Buffi healing repertoire. Sometimes he reads al-Fatiha (the Prologue to the Qur'an), Ayat al-Kursi (the verse of the Throne [*ayas*: 253–4, *surat*, al Baqarah (the Cow)]), or al-Mu'awidat (the *surat* al-Falaq [the Rising Day] and *surat* Annas [Men]). Then he slaps the visitor on his back while reciting blessing prayers. There are healers who recite the formulas while hitting visitors lightly with a stick called the *kalkha* on all their body parts from head to foot. They also blow (*y-bukhu*) on them in their ears or face. Then, the visitors kiss the *hfid* on his forehead, on the back of his hand, or on one of his shoulders; give him some *fluhi* and leave.

Here are some examples of incantations or formulas uttered by the healers during the *şri'* process. From their linguistic choices, the healers, like the patients, appear to be ideologically implicated in this maraboutic world with its inequalities and hierarchical beliefs.

- You securers! You cherished people of Allah! This is your son! Allah cures you, heals you till no pain is left in you!
- In the name of Allah the ever-curer, the ever-healer! O Mulay Sultan Ben Yeffu! You of the red soil! O masters of the turn! O Sid l-Bdawi judge of complaints! O you the owner of the bright white horse [meaning Ben Yeffu]!
- O Sidi Bu'asriya! O Sidi Sultan! The ever-curer, the ever-healer is Allah! Allah unfetters your chains!

- O masters of the sublime! O *majdubs*! O the generous [jinns]! O masters of the turn! By the power of my grandfather, the rescuer of the distressed!²

The most popular expression reiterated by the healers is “*A mwalin nuba!*” (O masters of the turn!). The expression is a call for saints or rather the representatives (*nouab*) of the masses. Most of the expressions used in the incantations are calls for saints, their descendents, the *majdubs* and servant jinns. Even if some healers include the word “Allah” in their incantations—which gives me the impression that it is done because of my presence—most will place saints in the lead. The first incantation, for example, juxtaposes the saint and the supplicant in a linguistic construction based on hierarchical structures. The opposition—rescuers vs. son—assigns the saints the role of the father, he who protects his children. The role of saints is the custody (*himaya*) of their supplicants. The word *himaya* has an ambivalent meaning in the history of Morocco. Saints offer *l-himaya*; the regime offers *l-himaya* and the colonial authorities also labelled their ruling system *l-himaya* (protectorate), “a Christian guardianship in Dar al-Islam” (Hammoudi, 1997, p. 108). Historically speaking, the word is marked with miscarriage of protection. As it is mentioned before, to protect the masses, the saints, the Makhzen, or the colonial authorities have coerced them into different aesthetic forms of submission. Underprivileged as they have been, most of them have lived in deprivation, poverty and illiteracy. So, we wonder what these rescuers can guarantee the supplicant, knowing that the most wealthy brotherhoods and shrines thrived in the past on the sinews of the *‘azzaba*, *khuddam* and *haraṭin* haunting the fringes of Moroccan society.

Perhaps what these saints or their descendents ensure is to drill the cultural schema of submission into their supplicants. Throughout the ritual of *ṣiri*, the visitor assumes an attitude of humble submission in that s/he cringes before the *shrif* and plays possum. The *shrif* plays the role of the master who gives vent to his virility by transforming the

² The Arabic version reads as follows:

- *Yā dūmman/ya ahl Allah/hada rah wlidkum/Allah yshafik/u y’afik/u ḥetta ḍar ma ybqa fik*
- *A bismi Allah shafi l-‘afi/A Mulay Sultan Ben Yeffu/A ḥammer trab/A mwalin nuba/A sid l-Bdawi/A Faṣṣal d’awi/A mul gumri*
- *A sidi Bu’asriya/A Sid Sultan/shafi al-‘afi huwa Allah/Allah yefuk kbalkum*
- *A mwalin l-‘alwa/A al-majadib/A l-jwad/A mwalin nuba/A bijah jeddi/A ghiat l-madyumin*

visitor into a woman. He slaps the visitor on his back and blows on his/her face or ears. All these gestures seem to feminize the visitor, symbolizing a phallic insemination. As mentioned in the analysis of the legends, the saliva the *shrif* blows from his mouth may stand for semen. In the same way, the *kalkha* may stand for the penis, the sword of castration. The *kalkha* is called *saif l-jenn*, (the sword of jinn) in the sense that it is the weapon the *shrif* uses to castrate the jinni, the *other* who possesses or threatens to possess the patient. Through this bodily contact, the visitor becomes a woman for a while, though s/he may be aware of the transitional nature of this role. So, the transmission of *baraka* is done through the channel of bodily contact based on the principle of submission in the form of feminization.

In fact, the *shrif*-visitor relationship is part of a cultural schema of authority recurrent in situations of ordinary life. It evokes the father-son relationship, the *qaïd*-citizen relationship, the teacher-student relationship, the *shaykh*-disciple relationship, and the husband-wife relationship. Historically speaking, the subalterns have successfully internalised social forms of submission. They adapt themselves to the custom of hand kissing and bowing, of assuming effeminate roles in the presence of authority and of performing all the concomitant tasks associated with these social roles. Their behaviour patterns and speech border on submission to achieve their goals. To illustrate the idea that social actors revert spontaneously to submissive manners in their social interaction with the elite (*khaṣṣa*), and that their conduct emanates from social schemata—collective frames of perception they have internalized, I quote the example given by Hammoudi in his book, *Master and Disciple*:

When ‘Allal al Fasi went to visit the largely rural town of El Kelaa in the first few months after independence, the jubilation, affection, and deference that greeted him showed the love the masses felt for a man who had done his country an invaluable service. As a bystander, I saw the shapes that this respect took among the militants—the shapes of bodies and their skill at improvising the aesthetic and social forms their submission to al Fassi required. Such forms differed little from those sketched above in my discussion of the meeting with the caïd. The *za‘im* did not demand abject forms of submission. He in fact discouraged the kissing of his hand and did not demand other such displays of ritualised affection. No coercive means were used in the encounter with him; his action and courage alone had invested him with auctoritas. Thus, although the *za‘im* never resorted to the coercion that was l-Haj Thami’s stock-in-trade, he was met with the same forms of submission as the ‘Lord of Atlas.’ (1997, pp. 130–131)

This forty year-old example that still manifests itself in different social contexts where authority is played out makes it clear that average Moroccans may activate the schemata of submission once they think they are in the presence of authority. In the example quoted above, Moroccans have welcomed the leader ‘Allal al-Fasi the way they welcome the *qaid* of the Atlas. As a bystander, I see the shapes such respect takes among Moroccans in their quotidian life. When you go to the *qaid*’s office or the office of the president of the rural or urban councils—needless to mention the governor’s office—you see people displaying aesthetic attributes of submission, even though no coercion is visible in the encounter. One may wonder here how average Moroccans are not going to deny recognition to western values like democracy or human rights, and will practice them in a social context permeated by collective cultural representations of domination and submission.

The fourth and last task the visitors perform after receiving the ritual of *ṣriʿ* is giving the *ḥuḥ* to the *ḥfid*. The *ḥuḥ* is a compulsory tip. It is thought that if the *ḥfid* does not receive the tip he may fall sick. So, before or after the ritual of *ṣriʿ*, the visitor has to offer a sum of money varying between 3 to 20 dh. Afterwards, he may leave the shrine or go to rest inside one of the domes. Some visitors try to sleep in order to have a vision, preferentially with their heads resting on lesser saints’ tombs.³ When they want to leave, they sometimes receive the *baruk* from the *ḥufdan*—one or two candles. Sometimes the visitors themselves ask for the *baruk*. They may receive *ḥenna* (red soil), *ḥjabat* (sing. *ḥjab* [amulet(s)]) or candles. They are instructed by the *ḥufdan* to fetch water from the sacred pit in order to dissolve the *ḥenna* and talismans in it. Regarded as a panacea for all ailments and troubles, this elixir is usually given to people with a health or social problem.

Inside the *qubba*, people sleep by the coffin, others sit by the walls stretching their legs. Most of them come from the countryside. The atmosphere that reigns inside is silence and relaxation. People go there to contemplate and brood, some expecting a vision to unravel the mysteries of their lives. The sleep helps them to get into Ben Yeffu’s world. To show their submission to the power of the saint, some visitors

³ These are normal tombs without *tabuts*. They are anonymous. Some people say that they lodge the saint’s relatives. Others claim that there are treasures buried there but no one dares dig them forth.

spend the night in the open-air lying on the ground in the square, an expressive image of imploring (*mzawgin*) supplicants.

Everyone awaits the *baraka* of the saint. Its transmission is done through various channels from drinking the saint's water, the saint's soil diluted in water, contact with the *shurfa*'s saliva (through blowing), contact with their hands, garments or possessions like the *kalkha*, amulets, wiping on one's face the dust under the *tabut*, touching the *tabut* or its cover, food sharing with the *shurfa*, silent or chanted incantations to touching the sacred places the saint or his horse have trodden. All these practices show the masses' fanatic worship of the saint and his descendents. More surprising still—in terms of my own sensibility—is the treading process (*l-fis*). The *shrif*'s foot with which he smoothly presses all body parts of the patient is believed to transmit the *baraka* of the saint. During the times of Sidi 'Azuz Ben Lħmar in the 1970's, each Sunday a trance dance (*ħadra*) used to be organized at Ben Yeffu. People used to lie down in the square and the *shrif* Sidi 'Azuz Ben Laħmar would tread upon them in turn, dancing without music. If he saw a sign (*ishara*) of anything in anyone he would point it out to him. He was thought to be able to see the future. The image of the prostrated clients and the *shrif* treading upon them in turn conveys the excesses of the protective authority of saints and the masses' humble submission to them.

Some visitors go against the tasks of the ritual of pilgrimage—either unknowingly or out of conviction. Regarding the first category, there are visitors who step over tombs, speak in loud voices, visit the shrine in a state of ritual uncleanness, quarrel, initiate amorous advances inside the shrine, wear indecent dress, or keep their shoes on inside the domes. As for the second category, there are visitors, especially from cities, who do not actually believe in the saint's power to act by proxy and may visit the vicinity for touristic purposes. They transgress the ritual of pilgrimage. They go without receiving the ritual of *ṣiri*. They just stand by the *tabut* for a while and then leave without giving *ḥuħ/ḍaw* or without receiving blessings. Some of them do not even go inside. They refute the worship of stones and regard it as a form of paganism. The *ħuḍān* describe such individuals as being short of faith (*qlal niya*) and do not take them seriously.

All in all, it seems that women are the bearers of social genes par excellence. Most visitors and patients are women from rural origins between 25 and 60 years. As mothers they appear to be the common denominator and “drive” in all these maraboutic performances. They

initiate their children to the tasks of pilgrimage (*zyara*). They teach them the different stages of the practices, kissing the coffin, giving *ftuh*, and sitting in front of the *shrif* to be exorcised. During the last *mousseem*, lots of girls from a very young age came to the *mahkama* and asked the *hufdan* to be exorcised. They sat in front of the healers, received the *baruk* of *şri'*, gave them the *ftuh* and then left. Owing to their mothers' maraboutic education, these girls are exposed at an earlier age to magical practices and thus become potential adherents to the maraboutic order. Usually, mothers or other women playing this role are the ones who identify sicknesses and take the responsibility of taking their relatives to the shrine. They are the ones who negotiate the sacrifice and organise the possible stay at the shrine. They are also the ones who guide the patient from one saint to another and from one *fqih* to another, establishing in this way a network of *female magic practices*. Suffice it to say that denied power in the real world, mothers/wives invest their money and time in the magical world to gain a measure of control over their destinies.

B. *The Ritual of Cursing*

In the Buffi social context, the authority of the saint is also embodied in his notoriety for responding to the supplicants' curses on their enemies. It is said that the saint and his brother impart irrevocable curses.⁴ The healers keep relating narratives to convince the visitors of the saints' capacity to strike back. One of the legends they are fond of reiterating time and again is the quarrel on land boundaries between the saint and Mul l-Bergi. Informants say:

Ben Yeffu settled in the place and started cultivating the land. But Mul l-Bergi was not a friendly neighbour. After the death of his father, he started quarrelling with Ben Yeffu and his sons on the borders (*l-hdud*) between the two estates. One day, Ben Yeffu wanted to end up those rows and suggested that he and Mul l-Bergi would get up at dawn and mount

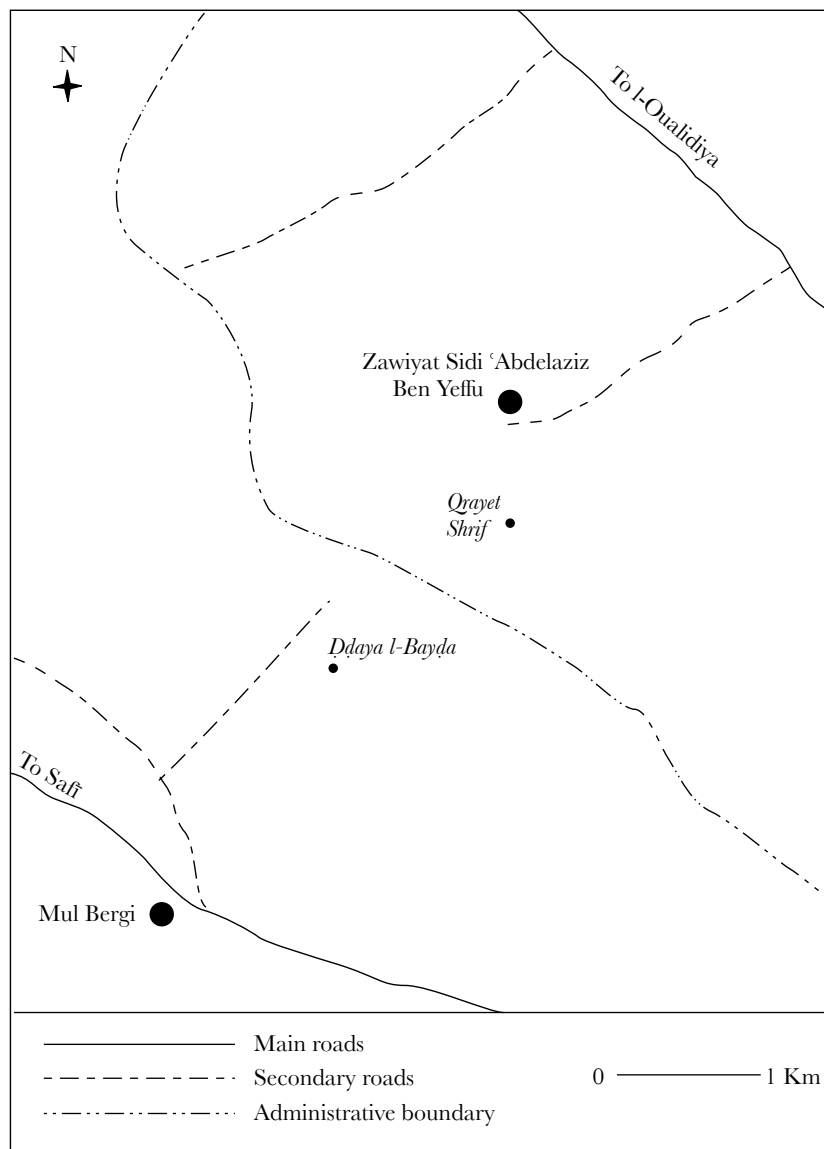
⁴ Beattie maintains that in African societies, the elders' curses are feared because "they are the closest of the living to the ancestral ghosts. And where there are religious specialists, such as shamans or priests, their blessing or curse is often thought to be the most potent of all" (1964, p. 237). This more or less explains why people consult *shurfa* and ask them to curse their enemies on their behalf. Like elders, priests and shamans, *shurfa* have a close relationship with their ancestral spirit (the saint) because they descend from him and from the holy lineage of the Prophet.

their horses after dawn prayer to meet each other. The place of their meeting would mark the frontiers of their land. Mul l-Bergi welcomed the idea. The following day, he got up earlier than Ben Yeffu, mounted his horse without praying and rode towards Ben Yeffu's place to gain as much land as possible. But Ben Yeffu rode on his horse after doing his dawn prayer at the mosque. He could not go beyond Daya al-Bayda (about five kilometres from the shrine), since Mul l-Bergi had already reached it. Ben Yeffu did not gain much land but recognized his neighbour's trick and cursed him: "You have left me without land and I have left you without descent (*khallitini bla blad u khallitek bla wlad*)."⁵ God accepted the curse for Mul l-Bergi did not leave any descent (see map II).

There is another version that states that Mul l-Bergi did his dawn prayer but did not read any Qur'an after praying while Ben Yeffu read some Qur'anic verses and then went out to meet Mul l-Bergi. The same version adds that Mul l-Bergi retaliated to Ben Yeffu's curse. He told him: "You cursed me with sterility; I curse your progeny with death by rabies (*d'ayti liya bel gur d'ayt lik y-bqaw wladek hetta y-mutu b-jhal*)."⁶ Now, Oulad Ben Yeffu believe that Mul l-Bergi's curse is fulfilled. They say that they keep fighting and persecuting each other in courts "until they sell their coats" (*hetta y-bi'u al-kabbu*).

From then on, the Buffis, especially the progeny of Sidi 'Ali, have been quick to retaliate with curses like their grandfather who had a sharp tongue (*fummu skhun*, "hot mouth"). During the *moussem*, I observed that the healers would swear and curse people. One of them threatened a beggar in the shrine with the power of his ancestor, telling her that he saw the saint every night in his dreams and that his curse was irrevocable. The woman was stealing candles from the pile. He told her that, if she kept harassing him, he would curse her with banishment from the shrine. Also, when I was sitting in the *mahkama*, a woman came and asked the *hufdan* to curse her neighbour who seduced her husband. The woman was from the Buffi lineage. She told the *hufdan*: "I will bring you a sacrifice if you make her crazy so that she walks naked outdoors!"⁷ They looked at me before they looked at her, telling her that Allah would take revenge if her neighbour had really been unjust to her. I had the impression that the answer was due to my presence, and that they would have said different invocations if I had not been there. Moreover, the Buffis have an institutional apparatus of curse incarnated in the saint Sidi 'Ali who is famous for his always fulfilled curses.

⁵ The Arabic version reads as follows: *rakum bi dbiht-kum ila saryahtu-ha u khallitu-ha ghada 'aryana*.



Map II. The boundary between Ben Yeffu and Mul Bergi

Inside the shrine, visitors murmur their wishes and curses because they don't want other people to overhear them. A popular religious saying goes that "people should make their wishes silently so that Allah lubricates their fulfillment." People do the same for their curses. Still, I tried to listen to what some visitors said in private. One woman was so furious that she nearly cursed in a loud voice. She started circumambulating the coffin of Sidi 'Abdelaziz, kissing its corners and saying: "O Mulay 'Abdelaziz! O Mulay Sultan! I have come straight to you and destination is Allah! I call them to your trial! They have wronged me and it is dispersion I wish for them!"⁶ Then she said again: "O Mulay 'Abdelaziz! I want them to be dispersed, particularly, 'Abdelqader, his wife and daughter." As the reader may notice, the supplicant is careful in her curse and protests only about the social injustice she endures from particular people. What we can deduce from this example is that the woman's belief in the saint's fulfillment of her curse may alleviate her anger and deter her from taking the initiative herself in attempting to settle the conflict by inflicting injury on the wrongdoer. Her rancor and hostility are ritually discharged at the saint. Her faith (*niya*) in the saint's power is enough to let her wait and expect the miracle of revenge.

Sid l-Bdawi *faṣṣal d'awi* (judge of complaints) is a centre where people go to make oaths.⁷ He is also well known for his immediate response to people's curses and perjury. At his shrine situated in the fields, people perform their curses in a ritualised form. When wronged, they go to Sid l-Bdawi and *sweep it over* the wrongdoers. The process is literally called "sweeping the shrine over them" (*kay shetbu lihūm siyyed*). The wronged person takes off his coat or djellaba and starts sweeping the floor of the shrine and cursing the wrongdoer: He wishes that the wrongdoer's household would be swept like the shrine. He will say:

⁶ The Arabic version reads as follows: *A Mulay 'Abdelaziz/A mulay Sultan/ana jīt qaṣḍak u al-maqṣud llah/rani da'yahum lik/huma t-daw 'iya wana bghait lihūm tshita.*

⁷ Breaking an oath in Islam is a taboo forbidden on pain of the ritual sanction of fasting or feeding the poor. The perjurer who breaches the taboo finds himself in a ritual danger that can only be relieved by the cleansing ritual of *kaffara*. It was narrated that the Prophet said: "he who swears by an other one than Allah becomes an infidel" (from *sunnan* Abi Daoud; author's translation). Institutional Islam therefore forbids swearing by saints. As for the ritual of expiation (*kaffara*), it is decreed in the Qur'an in *surat al-Ma'idah* [the Feast], *aya*: 89. In the same verse, Allah says: "God does not punish you but for what you swear in earnest. The expiation ([*kaffara*] for breaking an oath) is feeding ten persons who are poor, with food that you give your own families, or clothing them, or freeing a slave. But he who cannot do so should fast for three days. This is the expiation for an oath when you have sworn it. So abide by your oaths. Thus God makes his commandments clear to you: you may perhaps be grateful."

“You have wronged me! I complain about you to this saint! I hope that you come down with an illness for which there is no cure! I hope that you are scattered so that you can never return! Go, my Grandfather and Sid l-Bdawi are cursing you!”⁸ Sid l-Bdawi is very well known for punishing those who voluntarily violate their oaths or vows by false swearing. Informants say:

In the past, a man suspected his neighbour to have stolen his rooster. So, he told him that he would complain about it to the *qaid*. At the time the Makhzen was very oppressive. If one accused someone and reported his allegations to the *qaid*, a *makhzeni* would go to the dwelling of the accused person and called him to court. The accused had to feed the *makhzeni*'s mule and give the *makhzeni* provisions before going to court. At court he would be fined hard if found guilty. So anyone being accused would implore the plaintiff not to press charges because he knew that he would spend a lot of money. So, the neighbour accused of stealing the rooster was willing to do whatever the man told him. He agreed to make an oath at Sid l-Bdawi. When they went there and the man swore, the rooster crowed in his stomach.

A number of myths are told about Sid l-Bdawi. His authority is established through the myth that *jnun* hold the *ḥadra* at his shrine every night. The Buffis speak about a famous *sharif* from Timgert called Sidi ‘Azuz died in 1974, who used to spend the night there dancing with *jnun* and composing folk poetry. He composed hundreds of verses during those *ḥadra* nights. His family and friends said that he had been married to a female jinni for about twelve years.

To elaborate on oath-making at shrines, I may cite examples from the past. Until the seventies, the court used to allow people to go to shrines to make oaths (if the plaintiff asked for it). In the region of El Jadida, oaths used to be given at Ben Yeffu or Moulay ‘Abdella. Those who went to Ben Yeffu were sent there by the *maḥkama* in Khmis Zmemra. Usually, an envoy would go with them to report the act of oath-making to the court. The importance of that ritual was that Ben Yeffu was considered as a *maḥkama* where someone's vow (*ḥad*) was abiding, and in case of perjury the person under oath might incur the risk of the saint's reprisal. So, the saint Ben Yeffu like other saints in the region (Mulay ‘Abdellah, for instance) have been used by people for making oaths. The standard formula people would say was as follows: “By Allah the ever great I have not done or taken this thing; otherwise

⁸ The Arabic version reads as follows: *t'aditi 'liya/d'aytek l-had l-wali/ana bghit lik dar lima lih dwa/ana bghit lik tshita lima tsib ma tjma' fiha/sir ra jeddi u sid l-bdawi da'yn fik.*

Ben Yeffu may divulge my breach of faith and punish me for it!”⁹ Up to the eighties, the tradition of making oaths at shrines was a common practice. Even some political parties used that as a strategy to secure more votes in their favor. They gave voters gifts before elections, gifts such as embroidered slippers (*shrabel*)—usually one slipper before and the other after the election results—as they loaded masses of voters—especially women—in trucks and took them to Mulay ‘Abdellah to swear that they would vote for them. That tradition is no longer practiced. But people still carry on swearing at shrines to solve their conflicts with each other, especially newly married couples or couples suffering from violation of confidence.

When we say that, in the past, official courts recognized the ritual of swearing at shrines to have been legitimate, we are not saying that the court deliberately sent people to shrines, simply that courts allowed them to swear there if they asked to. From a judicial perspective, we understand the attitude of the court. It is obvious that it is looking for the most suitable solutions to solve people’s conflicts and settle their quarrels. But the practice of swearing at shrines may have its ideological effect if acknowledged by the official court as legitimate. The power of the saint is institutionalized as true. The official court has the power to reinforce and sustain this truth. When it accepts people’s oath making at shrines, it legitimizes the whole practice and its ideological implication. In this way, the saint’s authority is legitimized, which implicitly encourages the *hufdan* to exert more pressure on their followers to submit to their commands.

All in all, the schema of domination and submission is not only actualized in the rituals of pilgrimage, cursing and oath making but even more in the ritual of jinn eviction. This ritual is constructed as a face-to-face encounter between the healer and jinni, an encounter in which the *shrif* ensures his position of domination and reproduces the existing social hierarchies. If the “jinni” rebels against his position of servant, or claims not to be under the *shrif*’s rule, he is beaten into obedience. The ritual is a disciplinary process that unveils the existing social inequalities, enacts them in asymmetrical rapports and instills in the maraboutic followers all possible forms of compliance with these inequalities.

⁹ The Arabic version reads as follows: *u haq Allah al-‘adhim ma dit u la dert hadik l-haja ula Ben Yeffu y-khruj fiya.*

C. *The Ritual of Jinn Eviction (ṣriʿ)*

The Buffi practice of jinn eviction is constructed as a lawsuit. No special Qurʾanic knowledge or musical instrument is needed during the proceeding of jinn eviction. Healers are free to deal with the jinni in their own way. Buffis maintain that there are Buffi shepherds (*serrah jaw men wra l-bgar*) and drunkards, for instance, who have cured patients without mentioning one word from the Qurʾan. They simply call on the *baraka* of their ancestor Ben Yeffu and practice the ritual of cure. “*Seules, la baraka et la puissance du saint... apportent une lumière sur ce système thérapeutique difficilement interprétable*” (Naamouni, 1995, p. 131). Thus the Buffis encourage the belief that piety, religious observance and religious knowledge are not important for a healer to be a successful exorciser. This is mirrored by the fact that very few of the *ḥufḍan* are *ṭulba* (sing. *ṭaleb*/Qurʾan reciters). Most of the healers have followed their parents’ occupation by means of participant observation (see the table below).

Table 6. The Number of *ṭulba* per *nuba*

<i>nuba</i>	<i>ṭulba</i>
Ghlamat (6 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	2
Timbert (5 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	2
Ṭyur (6 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	1
Zawiya (5 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	0
l-Rawa (5 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	0
l-Hasna (4 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	0
Dhahja (5 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	1
Oulad Sidi ‘Ali Ben ‘Az (4 <i>ḥufḍan</i>)	1

The majority of the *ḥufḍan* (80%) are illiterate. They whisper some verses from the local formulas they have learnt in the long run and practice *ṣriʿ* with it. As children, most of them used to sit on the wall in the shrine square and watch their fathers practice *ṣriʿ*. That’s how they have learnt how to do it. They do not show any probing in the sickness of jinn possession or its cure. They just call on the *baraka* of the saint when they exorcise patients. They believe that both men and women inherit this *baraka* and can do *ṣriʿ* with it. The Buffi women are also believed to pass it on. Even when married to men from outside their lineage, these women still bequeath *baraka* on to their children.

According to some notorious Buffi curers, many from the lineage do not know how to practice *ṣriʿ*. They are vulgar and violent towards jinns.

They insult and curse them, inciting the jinni's rebellion. Hence, he may not respond at all. "The jinni is a being that deserves our respect," one healer says, "I negotiate with him quietly and try to be as well-mannered as possible in my *ṣri*." Experienced Buffi healers maintain that they can distinguish between jinn possession and the patient's mental confusion. They say that when the jinni is evoked, the healer undergoes an inner change (*kay tghayer*). They recognize jinn possession from the patient's appearance, speeches, or gestures (cf. Pandolfo's description of the "*istinzāl*," "evocation," 1997, pp. 240–1).

Furthermore, Buffi healers insist that both the *shrif* and the non-*shrif* healers must have the permission (*idn*) to practice *ṣri* except for the *ḥufḍan*, who inherit the occupation from their fathers. "When you don't have permission," they say, "you may be hurt in the practice." The following case is the example of a *shrif* warned by jinns to stop the *ṣri*.

I was sitting in the *mahkama* with Hermans when a Buffi boy approached the *ḥufḍan* to obtain help in exorcising his mother. The *jnun* inside the woman were preventing him from exorcising her; they told his mother they would harm him if he did not keep away from their eviction. The *ḥufḍan* first asked him whether he had exorcised her late at night, and he answered in the affirmative. Then they warned him not only to abstain from exorcising at night but also to bring his mother to the shrine in order to be exorcised by them. They explained to him the tradition that at Ben Yeffu the rest of the *shurfa* need the *idn* of the *ḥufḍan* to practice the ritual of *ṣri*, a tradition to which most *shurfa* stand indifferent. The boy said that his mother was too frightened to come to the shrine. Then the *ḥufḍan* agreed that the boy should do it himself. They gave him the *idn* in the following words: "we have given you the permission to exorcise her and do not be scared of them (*hna 'atink l-idn bash t-ṣra'ha u ma tkhafsh menhum*)!" They also gave him some relics (*baruk*) made up of *henna* and amulets. In return, he gave them a gratuity (*fuh* of 20 dh.).

To practice outside the sacred vicinity of Ben Yeffu, the healer also needs the saint's permission. This may take the form of a dream in which the healer may see the saint or any intimation associated with him giving the healer the permission to practice *ṣri*. A *shrif* claims that the dream must not be divulged; otherwise it may hurt the healer. Then he gives his own story as an illustration:

A few years ago, the healer was called to replace a friend of his at a consulting shop in El Jadida. The owner went on a curing errand to

Lybia. Before coming to El Jadida, the *shrif* had a dream. He saw the *surat* that he would read during the healing practice. Two days after the dream, he wanted to tell the *surat* to one of his friends. He was about to say it when he stumbled into a stone and his foot was severely injured. Ever since, he recognized that the cure formula was a divine gift the *fqih* had to keep secret. When I asked him to divulge the *surat*, he replied in laughter: “Don’t you get the message of the story? Do you want me to stumble again?”

In contradiction to this opinion shared by all the *hufdan*, there are *shurfa* who maintain that they can practice wherever they are. They only avoid practicing at night. They see the *hufdan*’s warnings as a way to secure more clients for them and avoid competition from without. For the *shurfa*, it is evident that if many Buffis practice outside the shrine, the number of saint-goers will decrease and thus the *hufdan*’s income will diminish. So, the *shurfa* attribute the *hufdan*’s fabricated rules to their want to protect the material benefit derived from their practice at the shrine.

Does this mean that the practice of *ṣriʿ* itself is fabricated and does not have any set conventions? A detailed analysis of the ritual reveals an underlying structure the Buffi healers seem to follow spontaneously. The practice does not seem to be inconsistent and improvised. It has its own rules, conventions and special incantations. It is constructed according to specific behavioural patterns to which both healers and patients adhere.

In Morocco, *ṣriʿ* is a well-known technique of evicting jinns out of patients. Sayouti’s popular book *rahma* gives an array of methods about how to practice *ṣriʿ*: the techniques of *ḥarq l-jenn* (burning jinns), *ḍarb l-jenn* (striking jinns), or *taswiṭ l-jenn* (flogging jinns). Many well-learned *fqihs* apply elaborate formulae and methods to evict jinns out of patients. Pandolfo describes Si Lḥssan u Ahmed who performs *l-istinzal*—a rite of incantations (*ʿazimas*) evoking jinns to manifest themselves through intermediaries (*wasītas*). These mediators are usually seven-year old boys (*zuḥriyin*) on whose palms a line is drawn from end to end representing the mark of a vision. But *ṣriʿ* as it is practiced at Ben Yeffu is a local encounter between the patient and the jinni in the presence of the Sultan Sidi ‘Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu, a “procès judiciaire” regarded as a divine secret (*sir rabbani*) particular to this saint. As for the methods referred to above, these are regarded as magicians (*ḥkaimiya*) and *fughas*’ methods devoid of any hagiological power and do not have any effective control over the world of jinns.

Here is an example of jinn eviction from Ben Yeffu showing the local aspect of the proceeding in which the healer and the “jinni” are aware of the patterns, rules and conventions of the healing ritual. It is a scene of jinn eviction filmed on 16 August 2002 at 11: 00 o’clock at the shrine of Sidi ‘Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu. A female patient in her fifties from the region fell unconscious inside the shrine of Sidi ‘Abdelaziz and started moaning. The healers approached her, took her by arms and dragged her in the middle of the room in front of the cameras.¹⁰ They were four *shurfa*. Two sat near the patient, one holding the *kalkha* in hand, and the other watching the progress of events. The eldest sat near the box of *futuḥat* and took the gratuity (*futuḥ*)—a bundle of candles—from the woman accompanying the possessed patient. The *muqaddem* of the *nuba* from Tyur, an experienced *sharif*, sat by the head of the patient, took it by the hands, and placed some *henna* inside the patient’s nose. Then, he started reciting over her verses from the Qur’an combined with local formulae of cure. The *sharif* holding the *kalkha* made a hovering gesture with his right hand to the audience signifying that the jinni was hovering round; it meant he was about to descend or speak (*ghadi yenzel/yḥḍar*). Suddenly, the exorcist *sharif* started interrogating the jinni, whose presence, it seemed, he felt.

Healer (1): Say, I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan! Say, I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan! Say, I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan! ([*there is silence*] *he starts mildly slapping the patient’s cheek*) Say, I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan! Don’t you pray? Say, I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan! Curse Satan! Say I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan!

Jinni (2): I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan!

H (3): Repeat it!

J (4): I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan!

H (5): Repeat it!

J (6): I seek refuge with Allah from accursed Satan!

H (7): What is your name?

J (8): ‘Aicha

H (9): Which one?

J (10): ‘Aicha of the river!

H (11): Are you alone or with others in this corpse?

J (12): I am with Mira.

H (13): That’s all?

¹⁰ There was a Belgian film crew from France 5 that covered the rituals of the *mousssem* at Ben Yeffu in summer 2002. The film was shown on 24/02/2004.

- J (14): Mira and Malika.
 H (15): Is there a man with you or you women, are you alone?
 J (16): Only women!
 H (17): Am I talking to 'Aicha?
 J: Groaning
 H (18): Believer!
 J (19): It is Malika who is present!
 H (20): Malika, say yes!
 J (21): Yes!
 H (22): Now, you are in the presence of the Sultan Mulay 'Abdelaziz!
 Do you surrender and obey?
 J (23): Yes!
 H (24): Do you beg to surrender?
 J (25): Yes!
 H (26): Malika, are you married or not?
 J (27): No!
 H (28): What problem do you have with this woman?
 J (29): We have possessed her because of grief (*dim*).
 H (30): How long have you been possessing her?
 J (31): Malika for a year and a half, 'Aicha for four months, and Mira for four years.
 H (32): Now are you going to leave her?
 J (33): No!
 H (34): Why?
 J (35): She burns us with prayers.
 H (36): So you are Jews, not Moslems!
 J (37): We won't leave her!
 H (38): You won't leave her?
 J (39): (*shouting*) N-o-o-o! We won't leave her!
 H (40): *He blows on the jinni and says: why?*
The 'jinni' feels burnt and is shouting out of pain!
 H (41): Be ashamed! Malika! Be ashamed!
The 'jinni' is shouting out of pain! The healer blows on her.
 J (42): (*shouting*) O! Mercy Ben Yeffu!
The 'jinni' moans in pain
 H (43): Now you call 'Aicha!
 J (44): 'Aicha is present, present...
 H (45): Listen!
 J (46): (*interrupting*) Present!
 H (47): Since this woman has come into the presence of the Sultan Ben Yeffu, you must forgive her!
 J (48): We won't forgive her!
 H (49): (*interrupting the jinni's refusal*) No, listen! Because of the mediation of the *shurfa* you must forgive her and leave her in peace!
The "jinni" collapses in a fit of panting. This will go on till the end of şri'.
 H (50): (*he blows*) Stop and hear me! Call Mira!
 J (51): (*still weeping*) She does not want to come!

- H (52): (*shouting*) No, she must come now and attend her trial!
- J (53): (*her fit gets worse and she clasps her hands*) No!
- H (54): (*both healers unclasp her hands and speak at the same time*) Stop it!
The "jinni" is still weeping and receives mild slaps from the shrif.
- H (55): (*he blows*) Call Mira to come!
- J (56): (*weeping*) She does not want!
- H (57): She must come now to the *mahkama*!
- J (58): (*now wildly weeping*) She does not want to be tried now!
- H (59): She does not want to be tried now?
- J (60): (*still wildly weeping*) She does not want to be tried now!
- H (61): We want her to come now!
- J (62): (*interrupting in shouts*) In turn! In turn! In turn!
- H (63): I know! Listen! I want her to come to be interrogated!
There is a conflict between the "jinni" and the shrif that goes on for long about Mira's refusal to be present.
- H (64): You be present now! And I will not deprive you of your right!
- J (65): Till the afternoon prayer!
The healer addresses the interviewer and asks him whether the evocation of Mira can be postponed till afternoon prayer. The latter agrees. Suddenly the jinni makes up his mind and decides to be present.
- H (66): Ok! Till afternoon prayer!
- J (67): Till afternoon prayer or this is her; she wants to be present now!
- H (68): All right, Mira! Get in now!
The khushba is gradually shuddering from head to toes as if something was crawling under the djellaba.
- J (69): Some welcome her and some do not!
- H (70): We all welcome her!
The audience start shouting expressions of welcome. The "jinni" collapses in a fit of panting
- H (71): Stop this noise! She is coming to the people who like her.
- H (72): Mira ! welcome! Come in!
- J (73): I surrender, I surrender...
- H (74): (*in a stern voice*) Under the rule of the Sultan Mulay 'Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu!
- J (75): I surrender to him!
- H (76): (*in a stern voice*) Under the rule of the Sultan Mulay 'Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu!
- J (77): It is him who brought me yesterday here! It is him who brought me!
- H (78): Welcome!
- J (79): It is him who brought me yesterday!
- H (80): Mira, are you married?
- J (81): No!
- H (82): How old are you?
- J (83): Four years-old!
- H (84): Just four years, you are still so young!
- J (85): Yes!

H (86): Why have you possessed this woman?

J (87): She weeps a lot.

H (88): You hit her because of grief!

J (89): Yes! She weeps a great deal about her dead mother!

H (90): She weeps over the death of her mother! But you! It is none of your business!

The "jinni" is still weeping

H (91): Forgive her Mira! Since this woman has come to us, forgive her! Since she has come to this *mahkama* and to the Sultan Ben Yeffu, we are going to advise her not to weep any longer, but you, you must leave her!

J (92): Ok!

H (93): Agreed!

J (94): Agreed!

H (95): Do you promise me now!

J (96): Yes, I do!

H (97): Lift your right hand!

The "jinni" lifts his right hand in a sign of making a pledge.

H (98): Is this your right hand?

J (99): Yes!

H (100): You're a believer?

J (101): Yes!

H (102): Say: "this is the vow of Allah that we will leave her right now!"

J (103): This is the vow of Allah that we will leave her right now!

H (104): Say: "I swear upon the name of Allah the ever-high, ever-great."

J (105): I swear upon the name of Allah the ever-high, ever-great to leave her right now!

H (106): You are responsible for the rest, 'Aicha and Malika.

J (107): I reign over them!

H (108): You're responsible. You must quit this corpse!

J (109): I am responsible!

H (110): (*he blows once*) Peace be upon you! Forgive us!

J (111): Forgive us! (For the Arabic version see Appendix II, text 3)

After this scene, the woman came back to consciousness. During the whole exchange the healer kept repeating himself because the "jinns" kept their voices low at moments of collapse. Also the "jinns" evoked in the patient were panting throughout the *ṣri'* process. By the end, the healers and audience made "wish prayers" (*fathā*) for the possessed woman who went away feeling relieved.

This exchange between the healer and the three jinns, Malika, 'Aicha and Mira, show that the ritual of jinn eviction is a disciplinary process coercing jinns into obedience. In fact, this ritual is a form of *dressage*

to those patients who unconsciously use possession to rebel against the impediments of daily life. Disabled by excessive frustration, some people fall in states of altered consciousness identified by the healers as jinn possession. From a psychoanalytic perspective, there are three major states of consciousness. There is the normal state of consciousness. There is a state of unconsciousness (the healers also identify this as jinn possession, a state in which the jinni does not manifest itself). And then there is a state of altered consciousness like sleepwalking, trance, and jinn possession (Coon, 1980, pp. 123–44).

Jinn possession is a social reality in which the individual is brought up to believe. It is part of the collective frames of perception that form the core of her or his social identity. The individual uses it unconsciously as an alibi to explain his irrational fears and anxieties. When she or he falls sick and gets into a state of altered consciousness, social representations of jinns may emanate from the dark areas of the unconscious and vociferate all the unsocialized thoughts¹¹ the patient has repressed during his waking life. In other words, it is the return of the repressed. The *shurfa*, in this sense, are intuitive psychiatrists who beat this unsocialized being into form. They thrust the “jinni” in a ritual of *ṣiriʿ* to coerce him to collapse by the end and surrender to the authority of the *sharif*, who stands for the super-ego. When the patient awakes, she or he resumes his social role in society with a fresh disposition to endure more pressure and frustration.

For the masses, eviction ritual serves as a form of catharsis that helps them bear the injustices of social life. To use Foucault’s terms, we can say that the maraboutic ideology is not *repressive* or exclusive. It is rather *productive*. It produces rituals of truth. To accept these rituals is to accept the system of authority they validate. If the maraboutic client assimilates the domination of the master over the “jinni” as it is enacted in the ritual of *ṣiriʿ*, she or he will automatically assimilate similar relations of power in real life situations. Let us examine how the opposition—domination vs. submission—is played out by the healer and the “jinni” in the exchange above.

¹¹ The starting point here is Foucault’s conception of human existence: “it is false to say, ‘with that famous post-Hegelian’ [Marx], that the concrete existence of man is labor. For the life and time of man are not by nature labor, but pleasure, restlessness, merry-making, rest, needs, accidents, desires, violent acts, robberies, etc.” (cit. in Harland, 1987, p. 166).

The analysis of the exchange may be divided into three distinct phases. The first phase concerns the sequential organization of the exchange as a whole. The diagram charting the illocutionary force of the whole exchange, comprising semiotic, pragmatic and hermeneutic patterns is presented in Appendix IV. This diagram displays the illocutionary axis each participant acts on in the healing process. It seems from the diagram that during the whole ritual of *ṣiri*, the healer controls the turn-taking right (the machinery according to which one person speaks at a time). He controls this machinery by acting on the illocutionary axis of directives. It is he who suggests the topics of the exchange. The jinni follows with answers. To analyse the illocutionary force of the exchange, we may divide it into four discourse units.

The first unit starts from statement (1) to statement (18). It is a series of orders and questions issued by the healer to the female jinni, 'Aicha. The healer first orders the jinni to curse Satan. For the healers, if jinns curse Satan, they are identified as pious (*rabbani*) and not satanic (*shaitani*). Satanic jinns are believed to be very tough to manage. When the healer orders the jinni to curse Satan, he addresses him as a "he." He does not know yet whether he is male or female. But he presumes that he is male. This taken-for-granted-assumption shows that the *fqih* is implicated in the patriarchal system of address that considers the "he" as generic.

Ideologically speaking, the power dimension is marked in the exchange by the non-reciprocity in question and order usage. From the beginning the *jenniya* 'Aicha acknowledges the healer's higher rank. The healer hails her with questions and orders to which she endeavours to respond. The ritual starts in the way a lawsuit starts in the court. The healer plays the role of the judge who asks the defendant about his personal details before getting into the heart of the case. 'Aicha of the river who plays the role of the defendant in this first unit does not in any way challenge the authority of the judge. She appears to be both cooperative and submissive. Thus, the healer does not have to resort to violence or aggression to subdue her. He is rather contented with questions and mild orders.

In the second unit from statement (19) to statement (43), the authority of the healer goes virtually unchecked till he requires Malika to release the possessed woman. Malika is the second *jenniya* who has first made an obsequious presence and afterwards challenges the healer's power by refusing to release the host. At first, she declares *tslim*, an expression

of surrender, in front of the *shrif* who is the son of the Sultan. Then she goes on answering his questions and obeying his orders. But when he asks her to leave the woman, she flares up. This marks the beginning of the crisis between healer and jinni. It is going to be a verbal struggle in which the *jenniya* tries to escape the punishment of the *shrif* without renouncing her will to keep haunting the woman.

In the third unit from statement (44) to statement (63), the crisis goes on with 'Aicha who evinces a tenacious and unwavering persistence to keep inside the body she haunts despite the tortures the healer has inflicted on her. From statement (50) onwards, 'Aicha has endured the fire-blows of the *shrif* without surrender. The process of *sri* reaches its crescendo just before the beginning of unit four from statement (68) to statement (111) when the healer calls Mira to the trial earlier than the fixed time. She perversely adheres to her opinion that the *shrif* has to respect the scheduled order (*nuba*). After a long struggle, the *shrif* subdues her volition and yokes her with vows of releasing the possessed woman.

As the reader may notice, the perlocutionary effect of the *shrif*'s orders is predominantly positive. Jinns may challenge his commands but surrenders by the end. They are not inclined to question his authority over them. They seem to legitimise the power of the Sultan over them though they may rebel against some of its aspects. In the exchange, there is no linguistic clue referring to the illegitimacy of the Sultan's rule. All the three jinns surrender to his command. Thus the ritual of *sri* seems to be an occasion for the *shrif* to reproduce the system that defines the role relationships of the participants in the maraboutic discourse. It is a status marked setting in which the *shrif* occupies a higher rank and the jinni/possessed individual a lower one. As a matter of fact, this system of address embodies the social structure that is also based on hierarchical distinctions between *shurfa* and commoners (*'amma*). The most relevant example here is the Buffi world that is itself dichotomised: the *shurfa* vs. the *'amma*. The *shurfa* consider themselves the merciful rescuers of the *'amma*.

The second phase of analysis focuses on relations of power as they are embedded in the participants' use of certain types of foregrounding related to lexical choices and process options. The jinns, for instance, seem to draw upon the lexis of submission while the exorciser upon the lexis of dominance. The following chart shows the contrast between the two repertoires:

Table 7. Lexical Choices

Lexis of Submission	Lexis of Domination
women (<i>ʿyalat</i>)	man (<i>rajel</i>)
I surrender (<i>msellma</i>)/ present	under the rule of the Sultan (<i>fi l-ḥukm</i>
(<i>ḥāḍra</i>)/ready (<i>mujuda</i>)	<i>dyaḥ Sultan</i>)
Agreed(<i>wakha</i>)/yes (<i>ayeh/nʿam</i>)	by the mediation of the <i>shurfa</i>
	(<i>fi ḥaq shurfā</i>)
O mercy! Ben Yeffu (<i>l-fu ya Ben</i>	be ashamed (<i>heshmi</i>)/noise (<i>ṭaqtīq</i>)
Yeffu)/grief (<i>ḍim</i>)	
ready/ present (<i>mujuda/ḥāḍra</i>)	now call (<i>daba kellmī</i>)
turn (<i>nuba</i>)	Court (<i>mahkama</i>)/
	investigation (<i>istintāq</i>)
vow (<i>l-ʿahed/l-kelma</i>)	lift your right hand (<i>hezzi yidak limna</i>)
She burns us with prayers	You are then Jewish (<i>hiya n-tuma yehud</i>)
(<i>kat ḥragna bi ṣṣala</i>)	

Since no language is truly neutral, objective or value-free, all discourse is implicated in an ideological framework. What is the dominant ideology the *shrif* endorses? The *shrif* constructs linguistically the social inequalities that exist in his society. He belongs to a sharifian patriarchal order that is culturally biased against women and the *ʿamma*. His question (15)—“is there a man with you, or are you women alone (*mʿakum shi rajel u la antuma l-ʿyalat*)?”—is one of the illustrations that indicates his male-oriented point of view. We may forward the interpretation that the *shrif*’s attitude is polygamous: man vs. harem. The word “*l-ʿyalat*” in popular culture may also have a pejorative sense. When we say *derb l-ʿyalat*, for instance, it means a street where there is no order, no peace of mind, no morality, and no respect. The street of women could also be a euphemistic expression for an illicit brothel. Furthermore, the *shrif* uses the stereotype of the Jew (*hiya n-tuma yehud* [36]). In popular culture, the Jew is stereotyped as deceitful, untrustworthy, womanish, yellowish and impotent. All the anxieties of the virile patriarch are projected onto this scapegoated *other*.

The *shrif*’s use of language is characterized by *androcentrism*, a male-centred world-view wherein male activities are evaluated positively and female activities negatively. The words, *heshmi* (be ashamed) and *ṭaqtīq* (noise) the *shrif* uses signify that the female jinns are caught outside the image they are expected to project of themselves. The *shrif* regards the jinni’s statement—“*shi farḥan biha u shi mafraḥansh biha*” [some welcome her and some do not] (69)—as an improper speech-act that exhibits the jinni’s sexuality. He responds with the word “noise” to blur any potential

sexual significance with respect to the audience. In this way, the *sharif* behaves according to the moral standards of patriarchy. The patriarch is always anxious to control female sexuality. He considers it as “*fitna*.” The underlying religious conception here is that women are chaotic sexual beings; *des femmes fatales* who can destroy men by tempting them and driving them off the path of Allah. As Fatima Mernissi writes:

La femme musulmane est dotée d'une attraction fatale qui érode la volonté de l'homme de lui résister et le réduit à un rôle passif et soumis. Il n'a pas le choix; il ne peut que céder à son attraction, d'où cette identification de la femme avec fitna, le chaos, avec les forces anti-sociales et anti-divines de l'univers:

Le Prophète (que la bénédiction d'Allah soit sur lui!) a vu une femme, alors il est entré chez sa femme Zaynab et a eu un rapport sexuel avec elle puis il est sorti et a dit: 'Quand la femme s'approche de vous, c'est Satan qui est en train de s'approcher de vous. Si l'un d'entre vous voit une femme et qu'elle lui plaise, il faut qu'il aille faire l'amour avec sa femme. Avec elle ce serait comme avec l'autre [narrated by Abbi 'Issa at-Tarmidi].' (1985, p. 25)

The standards of patriarchy indicate that there is a collective male fear from the sexual independence and self-determination of women within the structure of the household. The jinns in this sense, ‘Aicha, Malika and Mira may be interpreted as projections of the independent female who rebels against the standards of patriarchy. They may embody the woman’s unconscious revolt against the hardships she is exposed to in her everyday life. Unable to withstand her social conditions, she begins to fall in a state of altered consciousness, a state of escapism, or rather a moment of licensed paroxysm that may enable her to discharge her accumulated hostilities. By presupposing that a jinni acts on her behalf, she may assume an antagonistic personality to all the male standards she has internalised. These jinns haunting her, or these unsocialized thoughts she fosters have to undergo an operation of *dressage* at the shrine so as not to threaten the social order. The virility of the patriarch has to remain intact.

The jinns confirm the *sharif*’s power by accepting to play the role of slaves. All their expressions are words denoting submission, fear and surrender. The words, *msellma* (surrendered), *mujuda* (ready), *hādra* (present) and *l-fu* (mercy) place the jinns in inferior positions with respect to the healer. The jinns succumb when they hear that they are in the presence of the Sultan Ben Yeffu. They recognize that the Sultan is their ultimate ruler and has the power to incarcerate them. In his court, they can only supplicate for mercy and postponement of their trial. The words above also indicate that the jinns are stalemated in a status-

marked setting. One cannot use such words unless one is in an official situation where the addressee is of higher rank. In the courtroom at Ben Yeffu, the jinns undergo an official trial. As defendants, they prostrate themselves in front of the Sultan/judge or his representatives. If they do not humble themselves, they may run the risk of intensifying their sentence or being tortured.

The *shrif*'s processes put emphasis on the act of hearing and speaking: “*gul*” (say) “*awd*” (repeat) “*hḍar*” (speak), “*kellem*” (call), and “*sma*” (listen). The repetition of such verbalization and mental perception processes throughout the exchange gives access to a clear general picture of coercive persuasion. The processes are used in the imperative with the healer as sayer/senser and the jinni as target/phenomenon. As sayer the healer controls the turn-taking right and directs the course of the exchange. Through a well-structured verbal interaction, the *shrif* attempts to persuade the jinni of his commands to leave the woman. It is a verbal brainwashing strategy to control the jinni and manipulate his actions. Physical and psychological punishments ranging from deprivation of food, sleep, and social contacts, to bondage and torture loom up facing the jinni for non-cooperation. Thus the possessed patient is reshaped within a maraboutic ideology based on absolute obedience and humility to the *shrif* and Sultan of jinns. His will is curbed to fit in the demands of the *shrif* and the jinni—needless to mention here that the jinni is but another slave at the *shrif*'s disposal. “[The *shrif*] tries to suggest to or persuade the patient that he has in fact been attacked by a jinni, that the jinni requires a sacrifice...and that the patient, if he follows the commands of the jinni, will be cured” (Crapanzano, 1973, p. 217). Thus a personal bond is established between patient and healer. The patient plays the passive role of following the healer's instructions to the extent that she or he becomes a devotee of the maraboutic order and must periodically perform the rituals of cure. In fact, the brainwashing process depends on the personality of the patient, degree of motivation to be reformed, and the degree to which the environment supports the new frame of reference.

The third phase of analysis focuses on the structure of the ritual of *ṣri*. Does the exchange above follow an underlying structure or is it an amalgam of disoriented speeches? As a brainwashing process, as an ideological mode through which hierarchized social relationships are reshaped, the cultural model of *ṣri* follows a typical structure that validates the system of domination it represents. Most of the cases of *ṣri* I have observed including the one quoted above take the social

form of a trial. The jinni is called to a courtroom to be interrogated. Unequal social relations mark the trial setting. The jinni plays the role of the obedient/disobedient defendant and the healer the role of the kind/austere judge. Most trials end up with sentencing the jinni to make a vow to leave the possessed individual and go to sea where no human beings are supposed to live. But there are trials in which the jinni refuses to leave, and law procedures (*shra'*) may go on from saint to saint for a lifetime. The following chart describes a typical cycle of the ritual of *ṣiri'*:

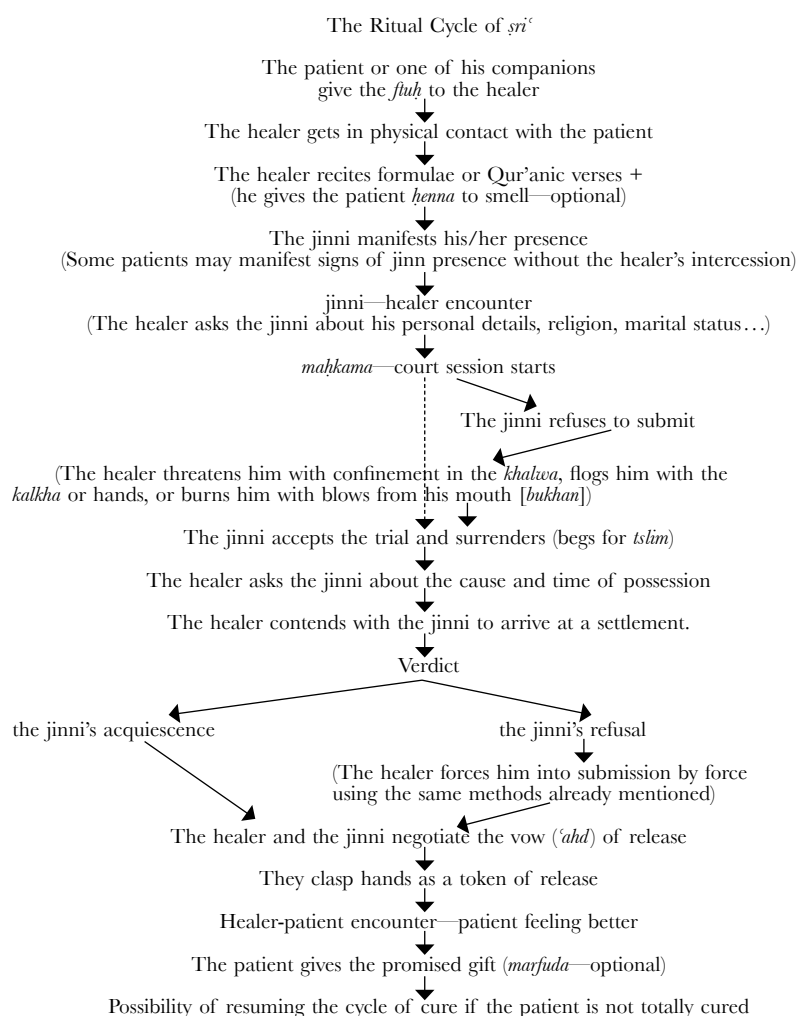


Fig. 11

As the reader may notice, the ritual of jinn eviction involves three major participants: the healer, the jinni and the corpse of the possessed patient. The latter is the mediator between the two antagonists. The *shurfa* name it *l-khushba* (a piece of wood). This label is underpinned by the religious conception of body and soul. The predominant belief is that the body dies but the soul journeys to Allah. The distinction of body and soul is derived from the spirit of Orthodoxy but is also incorporated in magical beliefs through the practice of *ṣiriʿ*. The metaphor of the corpse as wood (*khushba*) may have a history of usage, but no one actually seems to know why the word “*khushba*” is used in the first place. Perhaps the word is used because it is associated with the world of death. When someone dies, his corpse is washed and cleaned on a wash-board from wood called “*al-maghsal*,” carried to the cemetery on a piece of wood called bier, “*al-marfaʿ*,” and sometimes buried in a coffin, “*tabut*,” also made up of wood. Thus wood becomes a metonymical attribute of the corpse and may refer to it, a reason why people may use the word “*khushba*” to refer to the “corpse” (*al-jutta*)—needless to mention here that wood is inanimate.

The ritual of *ṣiriʿ* typically starts with *ftuh*-giving. The *shurfa* insist on receiving the gratuity (*ftuh*) before exorcising the patient. But if the patient is already in a fit of possession, they may start the *ṣiriʿ* and ask for the *ftuh* by the end. The *ftuh* depends on the income of the patient. She or he may offer the healer 50 dh., 20 dh., an egg, a piece of sugar or even a piece of wool (*liga dyal sawf*) if she or he is too poor. The *ftuh* is a compulsory tip because the *fqiḥ* may be hurt by the jinni afterwards if he does not receive it. Sometimes the patients’ relatives give the *ftuh* even if the healer does not practice the ritual. The following example is a good case in point. A Buffi healer says:

Four years ago, a boy fell into a paroxysm of possession. His brother went to the shrine to call a healer. The healer equipped himself with *henna* (red soil) and the *kalkha* and accompanied the boy to his dwelling. At the door he stopped for a moment allowing the boy to get in and announce his arrival (*ydir lih triq*). When the mother called the *fqiḥ* from inside he got in to find the sick boy asking his mother, “What happened to me?” repeating it twice. The mother, the *fqiḥ* and the rest of the family understood the occurrence. The jinni fled when he felt the presence of the *shrif*. The mother gave the Buffi his *ftuh* (20 dh.) though he said that he did nothing for the boy. But they all knew what had happened.

According to the same healer, this jinni belongs to a type of coward jinns that start shuddering at the door of the shrine and do not even

give the healer the opportunity to exorcise them and get some *fiuh*. This humorous instance is but one of many others that show how successfully some patients/jinns have internalized the cultural schema of submission.

The next step the healer does is to come into physical contact with the patient. He holds him/her by the forehead or the head and starts reciting particular incantations to evoke the jinni possessing the patient. Sometimes, he thrusts some *henna* in the host's nose to help bring down the jinni. He may use local Buffi formulas or read some Qur'anic verses while blowing on the patient (for a detailed analysis of the formulas see section D below). If the jinni is evoked, the *shrif* asks him about his identity, sex, marital status, nationality and religion. Sometimes, the healer may be faced with patients in crisis. They already manifest signs of jinn presence. In such cases, the healer does not have to go through the first steps outlined above but immediately moves to question the jinni. The healer reminds him that he is at court in the presence of the Sultan Ben Yeffu. If the jinni utters the expressions of surrender (such as "*tslim*"), peaceful negotiations will commence as regards the patient's complaint (*shakwa*); but if he displays unwillingness to cooperate, or refuses to succumb to the saint's orders, he will be physically and psychologically punished till he gives up his resistance and utters the expression of *tslim*.¹² Then the *shrif* explains to the jinni that his host has come with a complaint to the *shurfa* in connection with his intrusion and now by their mediation they want him to leave the patient in peace. The jinni who is molded by the maraboutic technology of power will succumb to the *shurfa* and promise to leave the patient. Sometimes, he may set a sacrifice as his own condition of releasing the host. The Buffis explain this as the jinni's want to see blood dripping from the slaughtered animal before quitting the corpse.¹³

¹² According to the Buffis, jinns may protest against some orders or social conduct but can never go to great lengths to challenge the legitimate power of the saint over them.

¹³ Sacrifice is a symbolic rite. It may function as a gift-exchange, as propitiation, as purification or as communion with the spirit world (Beattie, 1964, p. 237). In Islam, sacrifice is offered to Allah for communion. Allah says in *surat al Hajj*, *aya*: 37: "it is not their meat or blood that reaches God: It is the fealty of your heart that reaches Him." In the Buffi maraboutic context, patients offer sacrifices to propitiate the wrath of jinns and establish peaceful bonds with them so that jinns can leave them in peace. The sacrifice therefore takes the form of a scapegoat. When the patient chooses a heifer, goat, sheep, chicken to slaughter in the *nhira* (slaughter place) and names himself after

However, if the jinni disobeys the authority of the Sultan, or keeps breaking his promises, he will be tortured. The degree of torture depends on the ratio of rebellion. The *shurfa* may threaten him with confinement in the *khalwa*, may blow on him their saliva thought to cause him burns, may flog him with their hands, or *kalkha*, and may shackle him with chains in order to pacify him. In the past, the Buḥfī healers used to beat jinns very hard. Now they say that the law does not allow it. The *shurfa* may be persecuted for the violence they inflict upon patients. In this respect, a healer insists that the *ʿafrit* of the past was powerful, so the punishment was equally powerful. When the patient got up, she or he could not remember either what she or he did nor the blows and kicks she or he received.

Finally, if performed successfully, the ritual of *ṣiriʿ* ends up by the fulfillment of the promise the parents or relatives of the patient have made to the healer before. This promise takes the form of a gift called the *marfuda* given in proportion to the income of the client. It may be a sacrifice, a carpet, a large sum of money, or simply a rooster.

To release his host, the jinni has to settle a compromise with the *shrif* called “*l-ʿahd*” (bond). The jinni must make the vow of releasing the patient both in words and gestures. The *shrif* shakes his right hand with that of the patient who seems to talk unconsciously in the voice of the jinni and they cross their fingers together. The acts of shaking hands and saying “yes” are interpreted as signals of the jinni’s promise to release the patient. The *shurfa* maintain that all male jinns leave by giving one vow and shaking hands once—save for the Jewish jinni who keeps breaking his vows and refuses to leave. In this case, the healer needs to shake hands with the jinni’s host and asks him his promise to

the slaughtered animal during the rite of slaughter, he intends the animal to symbolize him. Both the animal and the patient share a common aspect: life. By taking the animal’s life, the patient takes his life by proxy and offers it to the jinn in the form of a scapegoat to display his submission. What is important here is not the animal but the rite itself. The identification of the sacrificer with the animal sacrificed may be done in different ways. If it is a chicken, the healers may wave it round the patient’s head; if it is a sheep, the patient may be asked to touch it with his body or hands in order to concretize the identification. In short, sacrifice is “a man-made symbol” (Beattie, 1964, p. 236) meant to displace the jinni’s harm and alleviate its anger.

From an institutional religious perspective, offering a sacrifice to another power than Allah is a form of polytheism. Worshipping Allah means praying and sacrificing for him alone. It was narrated that the Prophet said: “*laʿana Allahu man dhabaha lighairi Allah*” [God damn he who sacrifices for someone other than Allah] (from *musnad* Ahmed; author’s translation).

leave seven times. He has to count well otherwise the jinni may confuse him and remain in the corpse. Some healers use rosaries to count so as not to be confused by the jinni's disordered chatter. Female Jewish *jenniyat* also must repeat the promise of release seven times—*seb'a d'yal l-huda* (seven vows)—in order to fulfill it. All the rest of female *jenniyat* need only *three vows* to fulfill the bond they settle with the healer about releasing the patient and giving him freedom.

These distinctions in eviction between male and female, Jew and Muslim do not exclusively pertain to traditional healing but rather extend to stereotypical collective cultural representations of women and Jews in society. As McIntosh puts it:

In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, indeed, in cultures across the world, spirits often stand in a complex, partially mimetic relationship to human society and history (Boddy 1989; Brown 1991; Lambek 1981). It is not unusual, for instance, for a community to construct a spirit pantheon that reflects and reworks its history of ethnic contact or social hierarchy (Giles 1995; Lambek 1993: 62; Sharpe 1993; Stoller 1984; 1994). While spirits are not merely shadowy reflections of social reality (Rosenthal 1998), it is nevertheless the case that spirits and society are in vivid dialectic in Giriama life. (2004, p. 99)

Likewise, Moroccan spirits may be said to reflect and rework the history of colonialism, and political and social domination. Our culture, as it is mentioned all through, is replete with *jnun* as shadowy appearances of cultural stereotypes and oppressive historical figures that have inhabited (*saknu*) the popular imagination. Women, for instance, have been culturally stereotyped as morally inferior to men. They have been represented as weak, capricious, untrustworthy and socially disruptive (Mernissi, 1987). This cultural image is in fact projected onto the world of jinns where the female *jenniya* is a shadowy reflection of her counterpart in the human world. Because of her caprice, the *jenniya* has to give three promises to quit the corpse. Unlike male jinns, female jinns are thought to be fickle and may change their mind abruptly. As Crapanzano puts it, “The *jnun* are organized into a world which mirrors the Moroccan world” (1973, p. 139). As for the Jew, he is culturally stereotyped as a schemer and a coward whom we cannot trust at all. This stereotypical image of the undefeated Jew represented as the epitome of plotting is projected onto the world of jinns where the Jewish *afrit* uses whatever means available to him in order to dupe the healer and keep haunting the patient. Like his human counterpart he is engaged in invincible intrigues. These examples illustrate the idea that the jinn world has a vivid dialectic relationship with the social world.

In the past, “jinn” were beaten more severely. Parents even accepted it and did not have to give the permission beforehand. It made part of the tradition. Once a man brought a whip (*zellat*) and told the healer to kill his daughter. The healer beat her till she felt better, and then the father brought the promised gift (*marfuda*). The healer said that in a police station, she would not have received the lashes he had given her. Now circumstances are changing but beating is still part of the ritual of *ṣiri*. If the jinni is obstinate and refuses to succumb to the authority of the Sultan or the *shurfa*, they beat him, throw him in the *khalwa* and put him in chains. No “jinni” can leave Ben Yeffu without yielding to the Sultan’s control upon compulsion. The following case shows how a giant *‘afrit* will submit to the power of the Buffis. A Buffi healer narrates the story of this possessed patient by referring to the jinni in person. His story goes as follows:

A jinni came to Ben Yeffu from the family of Ben Sharqi in Azamour (*wahed l-melk ja ‘andana l-Ben Yeffu mentwa Ben Sharqi dyal Azammour*). When the *shrif*, the narrator of the story, went to meet the family, he found the son very muscular and giant in size. He was told that he was violent. The healer waited for help. When the *hufdan* gathered in the *mahkama*, tea was prepared. Then, they tried to call the possessed son to drink tea with them but he refused. They asked him to come closer to receive some blessing (*baruk*). Still he rejected their offer. They persisted leniently in luring him till he came nearer and kneeled in front of them. When one of the *shurfa* started reciting over him some Qur’anic verses, he realized that the son had nails and small marbles in his pocket (“children’s superstitions,” “*tkharef dyal drari*”). He asked the son to descend to the *khalwa* to visit it but the latter refused. The “jinni” told them: “who would dare make me descend to the *khalwa*?”

The *shurfa* took the fathers’ permission and then allied their strength to catch the “jinni.” Ten people working together could not make him fall down. The healer who told the story said that he slapped him harder and harder till his hands swelled. At last they threw him in the *khalwa* (the Buffis believe that a jinni cannot be harmed “however you throw him,” “*kima syebtili*”). His mother was thrust inside the *qubba* so as not to see the kicks her son might receive. As for his father, he rewarded them with 300dh. just after they threw his son inside the *khalwa*. After nearly an hour, the *hufdan* opened the lid of the *khalwa* to see how the “jinni” was doing. It was ‘Abd l-Kbir, the son, who answered them and said that he recovered. He ascended and kissed his father, mother, brother and the *shurfa*’s hands. He explained that he had gotten inflated like a tire but now he was deflated (*ana kent manfukh bhal l-pnu u daba tfeshit*).

The healers also say that if they do not beat the patient, I mean the “jinni,” there are jinn *makhzenis* working with the saint who can beat him instead. How do the healers know that they have jinn guardians

who help them disciplining obstinate jinns? They are informed by these obstinate jinns themselves that they have been dealt blows by jinn *makhzenis* working with the saint. These jinns are specialized in beating the obstinate jinni if he is not obedient to the *shrif* or if he violates his oaths. The social significance of this assertion is that to accept the punishment of the *makhzeni*-jinni is to accept the punishment of the real *makhzeni* and the authoritarian system he represents. In this way, the social structures of domination and submission, in society, are reflected and thus sustained by the imagined structures of the jinn world and the existing patriarchal social order is validated. In this way, the *shurfā* epitomize the authority of the Father whose duty is to discipline, and beat his children if necessary.¹⁴

In the same vein, the strong, charismatic personality of the *shrif* plays an important role in the curing process. Most patients establish personal bonds with charismatic curers. The most successful curers in this sense are those who embody the notion of *al-ihaba* (respect and awe). Their physical appearance, their behavioral patterns and their speech are thought to be imbued with *baraka*. Regarding appearance, charismatic curers are different from ordinary men. They have beards, decent features, and wear clean djellabas, assuming an air of arrogance. They are surrounded with an aura of respect. Their social behavior evinces them as pious individuals. Usually, they sit in the *mahkama* reciting *dikr* and

¹⁴ This paradigm of authority also informs the relationship of the *fqih* with the *mahdar* ("pupil," pl. *mhadra*) in the Moroccan rural context. In order to learn the Qur'an, the *mahdar* undergoes a process of feminisation by the *fqih*. He goes shopping for him, washes his clothes, prepares his food, and scythes grass for his donkey. The *fqih* sitting with the *zellaṭ* (rod) in his hand in the *jama'* (mosque-school) represents a threatening castrating figure who reduces the *mahdar* into a domestic servant realizing the master's command. Like the transmission of *baraka*, the transmission of knowledge seems to thrust the two participants in an asymmetrical social rapport. The *fqih*, in some eccentric circumstances, may even copulate with the *mahdar* to subjugate him to his will. When the *mahdar* completes his learning of the Qur'an, he undergoes a rite of passage to the position of the *fqih*. The wedding of the Qur'an (*ʿars al-qurʿan*) is held in the *duwar* and the new *fqih* wears new *djellabas* and tours the *duwar* with the rest of *fqihs* celebrating his success. He gives his former master the "*ḥṣal*," "the gift of learning," and thus achieves in turn a position of mastership. He becomes a new *fqih* (the data were collected by one of my research assistants who conducted a research on the topic in 2000 in Duwar Oulad Brahim, thirty five kilometres to the South from El Jadida).

In the same way, the modern teacher's image seems to be modelled on that of the *fqih*. He is figured with a ruler and it is actually used on children most of the time. I still remember that up to the eighties flogging students was normal at school in my home town, El Jadida, especially at colleges and lycées where 'le surveillant générale' used to be a violent administrator.

delivering sermons about moral demeanor. They do their ablutions and prayers on time. They do not seem to gossip. In occasions of laughter, they are contented with a smile. Their relatives respect them and their children salute them ritually with bowing and hand kissing. They are firm and decisive in their explanations of sickness to the extent that their patients seem to trust them on short notice. Their vocabularies are intermingled with incantations and formulas that show that they are well informed in the curing practice. They claim they know everything. Thus they reassure their patients and establish their legitimacy (cf. Finkler, 1994). All these aspects are essentially expressive and have important social implications. They symbolize how dominance works through appearance, behavior and ritual to legitimate itself. The *shrif*, through his miraculous origins and superhuman attributes, is elevated to a higher social rank and held in veneration and awe. His dominant position in society is thus ingrained in everyday discourse as prescribed by nature, a process of *naturalization* that masks social inequalities and reproduces the cultural schemata of domination. In this sense, accepting the *shrif*'s authority as *natural* is part of the "common sense" belief that treats authority and hierarchy as *natural*.

D. Formulas for Jinn Eviction

As mentioned earlier, the Buffi healers hardly ever recite Qur'anic verses over patients. They have coined their own magic formulas, which are two major rhythmic verses in Moroccan Arabic. One is called *saif li qahr l-jinn* (a sword for subduing jinn) authored by collaborative venture, and the other is called 'Aw'awi, a verse composed by the *shaykh* Sidi Bu'asriya. The first verse (a sword for subduing jinn) lists the saint's miraculous qualities (*khṣayel*) like curing people without the use of traditional methods such as cauterizing, scratching the skin, and rubbing mercury. The saint's *baraka* is represented in the verse as holy and effective. The saint helps people wherever they are, be it in Morocco or overseas because *jnun* of different nationalities obey his rule. His brother is conjured up like a falcon hunting *jnun* birds without respite. The saint's father Abu Llait is represented as a lion, a symbol of strength and courage. This image has already been analyzed in the founding legend. Like in totemic societies, these symbols stand for the power of the lineage ancestors. The verse reads as follows:

A Sword for Subduing Jinn (*saif li qahr l-jenn*)

In the name of Allah, most benevolent, ever-merciful,
 This is the sword that subdues jinns.
 In the name of the ever curer, ever healer, ever omnipotent,
 The ruler in his kingdom over all beings, without associate!
 The prayers of Allah on our Lord Mohammed, the chosen Prophet,
 And on his family, immigrants (*muhajirin*), victors (*anṣar*) and followers!
 And all who have implored Allah by them;
 All these will be rewarded by Allah with his secrets.
 Those who loathe them will be housed in hell.
 This is the lineage (*nasab*) of the supreme saint Sidi ‘Abdleaziz Ben Yeffu,
 the full moon;
 On the 14th night its beauty is completed.
 Its lights shined on us like dawn.
 The peddler (*aṭṭar*) of our country provides for all those who come to him.
 The physician without herbs has the treasure of secrets in healing the sick.
 He cures the ill with the will of Allah.
 He does not give sift flour (*sfuf*), nor cauterises with skewers (*mehwar*).
 He does not rub with mercury (*mazbaq*), nor strikes a vein,
 Nor yet makes scratches (*sharṭat*) near it.
 A Sultan forever, who reigns with counsel, a rescuer of his servant son
 and any caller.
 One blow of his sons’ blows turns into embers (*jmar*),
 It cauterises the ‘*afrit* and burns it in its stomach and bowels.
 Presents come to him from sheep to cows,
 O everyone who comes to him with faith fulfils his wishes.
 People scream for help, from here and from overseas:
 Reset my bone, your kind-heartedness I cannot forget! Sidi ‘Ali, his brother,
 is a pure bird/falcon (*baz*);
 If he hovers over the flock of jinns you will not hear but their screams!
 Sidi Hmed, their father, like a roaring lion is from the *mujahidin* in the
 path of Allah!
 Sidi Mohamed Shrif, the enlightened one,
 Sidi ‘Abdelwahed, one of the saints of Allah,
 Sidi ‘Abdelkrim, his secret is visible,
 Sidi Mohammed, rescues every caller,
 Sidi ‘Abdelaziz an ecstatic devout (*majdub mḥayer*),
 He reveals the truth by his nearness to Allah.
 Sidi Youssef appears with science, *dikr* and hadith,
 He makes people obey the power of Allah.
 Mulay ‘Abdsalam, the sun of the world, our *shaykh* appears
 A vehicle for his disciples to bring the slave nearer to Allah.
 The leader Sidi Mshish Ben Abi Bakr, Ben ‘Ali, Ben Hurma, Ben ‘Isa
wali Allah.

Ben Salam, Ben Mazwara...

My God, by their mediation cure us from all pain, Adjust my faith and fulfil all my wishes. My God pray on the chosen Prophet, his folk, friends and all his followers!

(For the Arabic version see Appendix II, text 4)

The Buffi healers use this verse during the ritual of *ṣiriʿ*. Once they get into physical contact with the patient either by taking him by the forehead or by stepping on him if the patient is prostrated on the ground, they start reciting these verse incantations. While hearing these formulas, the jinni haunting the patient may respond. These seem therefore to be powerful and sacred words that can influence jinns. The Buffis believe that these words can summon the jinni to the trial of Ben Yeffu wherever he is wandering. Through the use of these formulas, some Buffi healers claim to have called to the *maḥkama* of Ben Yeffu jinns from the far Middle East to give their testimonies regarding some suits between patients and *jnun*. Furthermore, the jinni assumes an attitude of humble submission and succumbs to the power of the *sharif* who reiterates these formulas. Yet, not all *shurfā* are thoroughly knowledgeable in this verse. Some of them do recite some expressions from the verse and believe it to be enough. They say that the lineage to Ben Yeffu is what is essential to the functioning of *baraka*.

This verse constructs a majestic myth of *baraka*, a form of ritual symbolizing that Ben Yeffu is a real powerful Sultan. His origins are sacred and powers are unparalleled. By imputing supernatural attributes and sacred origins to the Sultan, the myth says that he is a superior kind of being to whom everyone must submit. The choice of lexis in the verse evinces the majestic attributes of Ben Yeffu.

The first metaphor the verse starts with is that of the full moon representing the supreme saint Sidi ʿAbdelaziz Ben Yeffu. The saint is compared to the full moon, a recurrent metaphor in Sufism, “the lord of growth, the waters, the womb, and the mysteries of time” (Campbell, 1991, p. 94). The image of light is also evoked with one of his ancestors: (Mulay ʿAbdsalam, the sun of the world). The sun is the lord of “the brilliance of the intellect, sheer light, and eternal laws that never change” (Campbell, 191, p. 94). The sun and moon are sources of light. They are grandiose elements of the cosmos. The imagery of the sun and the moon as the respective rulers of the universe which they majestically visit on their daily and night rounds seems to be a prominent motif in the verse. By imputing cosmic dimensions to the saints, the verse raises them to a unique prophetic status beyond comparison.

Like the moon and sun, the saints shine on the rest of society. They become celestial bodies round which other planets (embodied by Sultans, saints, followers) revolve. Equally, Moroccans were deeply affected by the exile of their popular king Mohammed V to the extent that they saw his face on the moon as if for them the cosmos echoed the sorrow of the event. In fact, in different cultures, the worshippers of the sun and the moon have granted them special significance:

The sun is the bestower of light and life to the totality of the cosmos; with his unblinking, all-seeing eye, he is the stern guarantor of justice; with the almost universal connection of light with enlightenment or illumination, the sun is the source of wisdom. These qualities—sovereignty, power of beneficence, justice, and wisdom—are central to any elite religious group, and it is within these contexts that a highly developed solar ideology is found. Kings ruled by the power of the sun and claimed descent from the sun. Solar deities, gods personifying the sun, are sovereign and all seeing. The sun is often a prime attribute of or is identified with the Supreme Deity. (“Sun Worship,” 1997)

The word “supreme leader” (*qutb*) in the verse is an explicit reference to the lunar leadership of Ben Yeffu. He is represented as a saint leader, a “sultan forever, who reigns with counsel, rescuer of his servant son and any caller.” Two key words are foregrounded in this line, the word “forever” (*al ddawam*) and the word “counsel” (*mashwar*). The expression that Ben Yeffu is a sultan forever points away to its opposite, the ephemeral sultan. Therefore the binary opposition—ephemeral sultan vs. eternal sultan—verges on the meaning of the divine. Unlike earthly sultans who are bound to die in oblivion, Ben Yeffu is believed to remain a sultan for eternity. Dead or alive, he will live among his subjects who can call him forth at any time. This implies that Ben Yeffu is deified in the verse. Also, the word “counsel” points away to its opposite, “despotism.” Thus a binary opposition may be generated: *sultan yhkam bi l-mashwar* (fair Sultan) vs. *sultan ghashum* (despotic sultan). This implies that the earthly Sultans, like the Black Sultan, are despotic and unjust towards their subjects while Ben Yeffu is a supreme model of justice.

This majestic myth also puts emphasis on the importance of the servants (*khuddam*) of the saint. In the sentence, “a Sultan forever, who reigns with counsel, a rescuer of his servant, son and any caller,” the word “servant” is placed at the front. This sequencing of Ben Yeffu’s subjects implies that his servants come before his sons. In this context, the Buffis keep spreading the idea that Ben Yeffu rescues his servants and responds to their calls before anyone else. The social significance

of such assertions as it is mentioned before is that to accept this myth is to accept one's position of servitude with acquiescence and zeal.

Furthermore, to attract more and more clients from different parts of the world, the myth confirms that the Sultan is omnipresent and responds to people's call from different regions of the world—"O! everyone who comes to him with faith, fulfils his wishes. People scream for help from here and overseas: 'Reset my bone, your kind-heartedness I cannot forget.'" Stories are told over and over again in the saint's lodge to demonstrate that he responds to people wherever they are. A story goes thus:

A *shrif*, who was a soldier in the World War II, was caught and imprisoned by the Germans. While in prison, he called upon the saint, who then appeared to him in a dream. He told him twice to get up. The third time he told him to get up for the door was open, the man got up and looked out of the window. He saw the *makhzeni*¹⁵ with his sub-machine gun washing his face. He sneaked away zigzagging in case he would be shot during the escape. When he reached the forest, he glanced round only to see the *makhzeni* still washing his face. Then he understood that the *makhzeni* was immobilized in that posture by the power of the saint.¹⁶

In this story, the myth of the saint's protection from a distance is reinforced by the popular theme of invisibility. The assumption that weapons are insignificant gadgets in front of the saint's power are embodied in the miraculous invisible escape of the bare-handed soldier from a prison the guards of which are armed with machine guns. The saint's soldiers are therefore invisible. *They have put a bar in front of the guard and a bar behind him, and further, they have covered him up, so that he cannot see.* I formulate the *baraka* of the saint this way to point away to a parallel structure in the Qur'an. This resembles the story of the Prophet who has escaped his enemies' conspiracy by walking all the way through them invisible. According to Mohammed Ben Ishaq's version (as cited in Al Kortoby, 1991), the Prophet went out of his abode, threw dust into

¹⁵ The Buffis see *makhzenis* everywhere from the world of war to the world of jinns. This symbol becomes an imaginary schema they activate once authority is present.

¹⁶ The story is narrated by al-Hajj, an ex-soldier, from Ben Kerroum's family. The soldier in the story is his comrade. Al-Hajj also exorcised in France and Saudi Arabia. He also confirms the idea that the saint responds to people wherever they are. He puts the matter in different terms. He says that the saint rules over jinns all over the globe. He gives the example of the jinni he evicts out of a girl in France only to meet him again in another girl in Saudi Arabia. In both countries, the jinni pays allegiance to the *shrif*.

their eyes and read the following Qur'anic verse: "and we shall raise a barrier in front of them and a barrier behind them, and cover them over; so that they will not be able to see" (*surat Ya-Sin, aya: 9*). Then the Prophet crossed all the way invisible. By drawing on the popular theme of invisibility rooted in the Qur'an, the story above wreathes the saint's power in an aura of godliness. It pictures the saint's authority as unique, if not prophetic, in nature.

Another story the Buffis offer to convince their interlocutors is the story of someone from Duwar Oulad Sbaïta regarding their forefather's response from a distance. The members of this Duwar, the Buffis maintain, are not *shufu* but when they travel outside the region, they call themselves Oulad Ben Yeffu and practice *shub*. Informants say that

A Sbaïti travelled to Paris. In a café there he saw a European man suffering from semi-paralysis of the face (*la'rusa*). He went to him and asked him if he would mind to be slapped on his face to be cured of his illness. The *gawri* (westerner) said that he even would be happy because he had already spent so much money on his illness without being cured. Then the Sbaïti slapped him on the face, saying: "by the power of Ben Yeffu!" (*a bijah* Ben Yeffu). That ritual practice was enough to cure the man of his deformity.

In this way, the metaphors of the Sultanic authority of the saint are constructed through the strategy of narrativization. They represent the saint as the mainstay of justice, maintaining the world order with its cleavages and social asymmetrical relations. Folk stories and verses are told over and over to naturalize the power of the saint and sustain the pre-eminence of the Buffi sharifian (holy) order over the masses of maraboutic followers.

The saint's authority is also embodied in subduing the *jnun* of the cosmos. The verse refers to this by highlighting the inherited *baraka* of the saint's descendents: "One blow of his sons' blows turns into embers (*jmar*); it cauterises the *'afrit* and burns him in his stomach and bowels!" If this is the power of the son, how shall we conjure up the miraculous power of the Father! The Buffi sons embody this ritual in their healing practice. When they exorcise a patient they exert pressure on his stomach with the *kalkha* as if they were burning the jinni inside. Thus the jinni is personified as a human being with belly and bowels (on the topic of curing as a removal of some "thing" visible like in the Bella Coola technique, see Moerman, 1979).

Furthermore, to fill people's hearts with fear and awe, the Buffis exorcise in public. By inflicting torture on rebellious jinns during a long

public display, they definitely intend it to be memorable for the audience and thus intimidate them to submit to the invincible power of the *shrif*. Such public rituals (or liturgies of torture to use Foucault's terms) may witness the fall of other terrorized patients who are not able to withstand the situation. Scared to death, the jinns haunting them shout for *tslim* and thus celebrate their defeat and humiliation in front of the *shurfa*. I have observed such scenes where the audience are reduced to timorous silence and one can only hear the jinns' agonies and the stern commands of the *shrif* ordering them to evict the *khushbas*. The use of terror evidenced by public display fill the hearts of the audience with awe and respect towards the *shurfa*, and fosters in patients and visitors alike the feeling to place confidence in their power. Accordingly the Buffi authority is legitimised.

The metaphors of terror are also associated with Sidi 'Ali, who is compared to a falcon ferociously chasing jinns and with his father, who is compared to a roaring lion. These metaphors stem from an animistic belief endowing the elements, the animals, the plants, and the rocks with breath and soul, a belief that dates back to the earliest humans and continues to exist today. As a general belief in spiritual beings, the animistic belief traverses all religions from the simplest to the most complex. Moreover, the metaphor of the lion or the falcon may be associated with solar mythology discussed earlier. The lion or the bird of prey (falcon) may be considered agents of the death principle inherent in the nature of life itself. By hearing such imagery, the Buffi adherents can only entreat for mercy and plead to surrender.

The Buffi *shurfa* also maintain their dominance through exchanging gifts with their followers. To establish closeness with the *shurfa* and spare their curse, the maraboutic followers give them gifts and serve them if necessary, "presents come to [them] from sheep to cows." Serving the *shurfa* this way is operating according to the basic schema of master and servant relationship, perpetuating the mastership of the saint and his descendents. As Hammoudi points out:

In Morocco (in the nineteenth century as well as today) a gift given to an equal constitutes a debt [that] the latter must repay. Whoever is not in a position to do so is deemed inferior. What about the prince? First of all, it is clear to everyone that he can transgress the rule of repayment without losing his pre-eminence. Moreover, offering a present to him is virtually obligatory and in some way conditions the encounter with him. The prince may, in practice, show himself to be generous and conform to the rule of repayment, but he is under no obligation to do so and, most

important, he never repays an encounter with one of his subjects with a present—his status and power allow him to offer only his presence in exchange for worldly goods. (1997, pp. 59–60)

Shall we say like prince like saint? Yes, the prince's relationship with his subjects seems to be modelled on the saint's relationship with his followers. According to Hammoudi, "the master-disciple relationship in Sufi initiation is the decisive schema for the construction of power relations [in Morocco]" (1997, p. 85). Indeed, the saints or their descendants are not under any obligation to return the gifts they receive from their followers. What they may give in return is their benediction. Their *baraka* is enough to render their followers satisfied. The *sharif*'s *baraka* is invaluable. It is believed to cure sicknesses, impregnate women, bring about fortune, or transform the *'amma* into bearers of *baraka*. It is itself a source of material and spiritual wealth.

In the same vein, 'Aw'awi, a collective folk verse recited by most Buffis in instalments during the curing process,¹⁷ gives a picture of the asymmetrical relationship of the *sharif* and his servant. The imagery conveyed in the verse is that of insemination (a recurrent image in Sufi chants). The *shaykh* impregnates his servant with his *baraka* and transforms him into a saint. Let us see how these lines quoted from the verse portray this relationship:

1. You, who stand before the *shaykh*, be patient,
Work faithfully to be safe from misfortunes.
2. I have served my lord with a heart free from mistrust.
I have served my grandfather; his fragrance has come to be in my nails.
3. His *baraka* has become in me and people come to visit me,
From his secret they have seen with me secrets.
4. With the bliss of Allah, I have grown feathers from you,
And my garden has been inseminated and its flowers blossomed.
5. In your sacred vicinity, my limbs, my lord, have grown serene,
Pour my garden with your rain so that it becomes nightly watered.
(For the Arabic version, see Appendix II, text 5)

¹⁷ The verse 'Aw'awi was formulated in two versions. One version was composed by the *qadi* Bu'asriya about two centuries ago and another version was composed by the *shaykh* Sidi 'Azuz Bel Hashadiya in the 1950's. I have chosen to work on the first version because it appears more ancient and popular than the second one.

The imagery of the servant's fingernails perfumed by the *shaykh's* scent gives evidence to the physical contact of the servant with the master's body. Does this have any sexual connotations? Of course within the Sufi social context, such images of bodily contact between the master and disciple are frequent and socially acceptable. Hammoudi maintains that "the master may spit into the disciple's mouth or place his tongue in it and order the disciple to suck, or the disciple may ingest the master by swallowing defilements from the master's body" (1997, p. 139) in order to acquire his *baraka*. Westermarck gives evidence that the bodily contact between the two may go as far as sexual intercourse. He says, "Supernatural benefits are expected even from homosexual intercourse with a person possessed of *baraka*" (1926, p. 198).

The image of bodily contact conveyed in the verse resembles the process of procreation. The servant becomes impregnated with the *shaykh's* *baraka* through his bond of servitude to him. To quote Hammoudi's terms, it is a metaphor of insemination, gestation, and birth. It may hint to the process of insemination if linked with the imagery conveyed in line 4. Also, the word "nails" has a feminine touch of servitude. Moreover, when the servant sings, "in your sacred vicinity, my limbs, my lord, have grown serene/pour my garden with rain so that it becomes nightly watered," he conjures up the virility of the saint who can inseminate, bestow pleasure and contain his servant. This interpretation is related to the submissive position the servant (*khdim*) occupies in his relationship with the *sharif*. Submission is culturally defined as an aspect of feminine identity. To submit is to be feminised and bereaved of all signs of virility. Like the Sufi disciple, the servant is sentenced to work in the fields, wash the *shaykh's* clothes, and prepare his food. According to Hammoudi, "*khidma* is God's will and no one could decide how long a disciple should work, or how strict the constraints should be" (1997, p. 92). Like the disciple, the servant is someone who has renounced the pleasures of daily life and sacrificed himself for his allegiance to the saint. But it seems for a lifetime since the *khuddam* I have met at Ben Yeffu have set up families there and have now more than forty years of *khidma* (for further details see the paradigm of servitude, chap. 4).

Similarly, the verse 'Aw'awi portrays Ben Yeffu as an elected Sultan whose power attains cosmic dimensions. He is represented as an eternal Sultan who reigns over all the elements of nature from mountains to deserts. The verse compares him to a number of Sultans whose reign was measured by time for they were all doomed to decline while Ben

Yeffu existed before them and still rules after them over mountains and slopes. He compels the jinns that concert revolt to obey his commands. He also responds to the screams of the distressed wherever they are, be it in mountains or deserts. The following lines sum up these motifs:

6. Your miracle can be seen, you the treasure of time,
Every generation that comes finds you a Sultan.
7. Sultans existed and were thrust in oblivion,
The palace where they dwelled is now deserted.
8. You are a Sultan before them for centuries,
You are still a Sultan who reigns over mountains and slopes.
9. From generation to generation they have supported you,
And from you derived their names.
Prosperous will be he who comes to you!
10. Those who were disinclined to come have called upon you,
Your *baraka* reaches them like the lightening of rain!
11. Wherever the jinns rebel,
They are persecuted and afraid of complaints.
12. Your servants boast of your miracles,
You rescue them from under the threat of knives.
13. The scream of the sorrowful who is unable to act,
You rescue he who calls on you in mountains and deserts.
(For the Arabic version, see Appendix II, text 5)

In fact, the verse 'Aw'awi constructs an awesome aura of authority surrounding the saint in his relationship both with his rivals and followers. The lines above, for instance, highlight the sign, *Sultan*, and the sign *sorrowful* (*madyum*). In this context, there is a popular expression reiterated at Ben Yeffu that the saint is *ghiyat al-madyumin* ("rescuer of the sorrowful"). This image of the saint as the Sultan of sufferers is a well-known chestnut in maraboutic culture (see chap. 2). Most saints played and still play this role vis-à-vis the subalterns. They offer a sort of refuge to the poor, the homeless and the sick though this seems to be a temporary relief. Also, by comparing the saint to other Sultans, the verse targets the earthly Sultans whose reign died in oblivion because of their misrule. To further highlight the opposition saint vs. sultan, we may dart a glance at another verse entitled *al-warshan* written by the *qadi* Sidi Bu'asriya. It puts emphasis on the everlasting life of saints and the ephemeral survival of governing sultans. Some of its poetic lines read as follows:

- 1) Ages and ages hence Sultans succeeded you,
Now they have no renown!
In the corners of earth they have been thrown!

- 2) But you! You are still in fame, potency, and power!
The complaint at your door has four pillars!
Men and women, *Quids* and Sultans.
- 3) If the Sultan comes to your door,
He should request you by its threshold!
(For the Arabic version, see Appendix II, text 6)

The last line (3) reverses the stereotypical social representation of the earthly sultan. In social reality, it is the sultan who welcomes the saint and listens to his request. It is the saint who stands by the sultan's door. Sidi Bu'asriya's poem transgresses the social convention and portrays a topsy-turvy world in which the sultan stands as an ordinary man by the door of the saint. This implies that the saint's power is more divine, everlasting and legitimate. Bu'asriya, the *qadi*, was a revolutionary judge in his time. That's why his poetry has a touch of political challenge.¹⁸

Back to 'Aw'awi, the authority of the saint is also constructed through the story the verse conveys depicting how the saint has command of jinns. The story goes that

once upon a time, a rich man was joking with his wife. He told her in jest that 'Aw'awi should come and take her away. The *'afrit* heard the call and fulfilled the man's kidding request. The man could not believe what happened. Bereaved of his sweetheart, he underwent deep and poignant distress. He travelled from one region to another looking for *fugha* and saints to deliver her from the *'afrit's* tenure but in vain. At last some people informed him about the miracles of the saint, Ben Yeffu. They told him that at Ben Yeffu's *mahkama* all jinns were subject to trial. He bought presents for the Sultan including his servants Arabs and Gnawis and headed for his palace. When the Sultan came and heard the man's story, he called the *'afrits* and asked them about the man's wife. They all blamed 'Aw'awi for the deed. Then the Sultan wrote the letter *l-'ain* ['] and the letter *l-waw* [w] from the jinni's name, and the *'afrit* appeared

¹⁸ According to his descendents, Sidi Bu'asriya refused bribery and revolted against the *qaid* 'Abdelkarim Ben 'Abdelkamil. When he wanted to resign, the *qaid* refused, and Sidi Bu'asriya wanted to send him the presents people used to offer him honorary for managing their conflicts to show him what type of morals he held. When they loaded the first camel with presents, the animal could not stand up. Then the *qadi* told them: "how would you like me to carry all this weight on me to my grave? How can I stand in front of Allah so cumbered?" When the *qaid* refused his resignation and gave him signs of warning, the *qadi* sought the protection of a nearby tribe, the members of which used to respect him. They were Oulad al-Haiji, seven brothers, having more than forty sons, all armed knights. They attacked the *qaid* and his retinue and destroyed his dwelling.

accompanied with the woman in the Sultan's presence. He said that he did not touch the woman and explained that it was the man's mistake to have joked about him. The Sultan reprimanded the jinni for his wrongdoing and told the man to take his wife back home.

Though the Buffis think that the story of 'Aw'awi occurred during the saint's time, we will consider it an allegory depicting the hegemony of the saint over the jinn world. It represents the Sultan as impartial reigning with justice. He rescues the woman from the jinni's captivity and delivers her safe to her husband. To read the story in the light of Greimas' actantial model, we may propose that it follows the stock-in-trade structure of the hero who seeks the Good and encounters help and opposition on his way to achieve that Good. The dispatcher in the story is the rich man who has lost his wife. The hero or thematic force in the story is the saint. He is his own helper. The sought-for-person is the woman. The villain/opponent is 'Aw'awi. When in other narratives, the hero is usually helped from without by supernatural powers, the saint seems to wield these powers himself and thus does not need any external help. He embodies the myth of the supreme hero who masters all the elements of nature. It seems that he is chosen for this mission. In fact, both verses put emphasis on the pure sharifian lineage of the saint and show that Allah has elected this 'Alami¹⁹ lineage to lead society and redeem it with its *baraka*.

The authority of the saint is not only constructed on narrative grounds but also on charismatic grounds (cf. Weber, 1978, chap. 3). As it is mentioned before, during the 1970's, Sidi 'Azuz Ben Lahmar used to organize the *ḥaḍra* every Sunday afternoon at the shrine. People used to lay down in the square and the *majdub* would then tread upon them in turn and if he saw a signal (*ishara*) of anything in anyone he would reveal it to him in public; a tour de force of a Buffi healer thought to be elected for that revelation. This ritual further reveals the patience and hope of the subalterns for the future as well as their unbreakable faith in the power of saints to soothe their social dissatisfactions. Another ritual that used to take place during the *mousseem*—now said to be in decline—is the jinns' annual renewal of their allegiance (*al-bay'a*) to the saint. Possessed patients used to journey from far and near to the shrine under the influence of the jinns haunting them to participate in the *ḥaḍra* that would take place there. The ritual was called the oath of

¹⁹ 'Alami is from the 'Alamiyun, the descendents of Mulay 'Abdsalam Ben Mshish.

allegiance (*al-bay'a*) presented by the community of jinns to the Sultan Mulay 'Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu each *moussem* during the *ḥaḍra* day.²⁰

By projecting the monarchic structure of royal allegiance onto the world of jinns, Buffis and their followers wreath the saint in an aura of awe and veneration. As a ritual, it signifies that Allah has elected him to rule over the community of jinns and each year jinns have to renew their covenant. The practice constitutes a social bond between the saint and his supplicants, and places them in his servitude like a real king. In this way, the cultural schema of *al-bay'a* becomes a ritual mythic bond devoid of any historical or cultural dimension. Rather it appears as an a-historical relationship in society sanctioned by a divine law above any cleavage.

The saint's authority is also constructed via the sacred monuments associated with him as a Sultan: al-'Afsa (the hoof print of the saint's horse), al-Kerkur (the cairn), al-Qsar (the palace), and al-'Agba al-Hamra (the Red Slope). These are four key signs constituting important elements in the social edifice of authority at the shrine. Visitors go to those places and display their affection to the saint in a ritualized form of submission. The 'Afsa refers to *al-gumri*'s hoof print. The name of the saint's horse, *gumri*, refers to its shining white color. In the Buffi maraboutic context, the 'Afsa is called Lalla al-'Afsa. The prefix "Lalla" is added to the names of women who descend from a sharifian lineage. By attributing it to the 'Afsa, the Buffis intend the place to be sanctioned as holy. To give it a function within the maraboutic edifice as a whole, the Buffis maintain that the 'Afsa is a panacean cure for sicknesses such as *tarsha*, *la'rusa* and *shakwa* (complaint). For those supplicants who want to complain about some injustice they have undergone, they have to take it first to the 'Afsa place, make their wishes there and then move to the *qubbas* inside the shrine to rehearse their complaint. Thus it will be answered. Why is it implanted in the Buffi popular imagination that supplicants have to start their complaint procedure from the 'Afsa place? What does this place symbolize in the Buffi social context?

From a semiotic perspective, the 'Afsa is a sign. It is a trace in a rock. It is an index of the presence of the saint in this vicinity. It has an existential connection with what it signifies. If this is his horse's hoof

²⁰ During the *moussem*, there is a day when the Buffis organize the *ḥaḍra* through litany (*dikr*) recital. It starts from some house outside the shrine, and follows in a ceremonial procession to the *qubba* inside the shrine. The participants may be followers of some Sufi path like the *tariqa tijaniya*.

print, then it means that the saint has passed by this place. Some *shurfa* connect the 'Afsa with the legend of the Sultan l-Kḥal. They maintain that when the Sultan l-Kḥal launched his *ḥarka* (movement of the army under the Sultan's command) on their tribe, the saint mounted his horse from that starting point and went out to face the Sultan l-Kḥal barehanded. There is another version stating that a black jinni with seven heads accompanied the saint on his errand (see other legends in chap. 1). The 'Afsa, therefore, was the place where the saint first mounted his horse and began to march towards the enemy. Hence it may be regarded as the starting point of the saint's march towards triumph since he is said to have defeated the Black Sultan.

By advising their visitors to start the complaint (*shakwa*) from the 'Afsa place, the Buffis intend to endow the complaint with omens of triumph—as if the saint was going to mount his horse again and embark on an errand of revenge for the sake of the supplicant. The symbol of the white horse—*al-gumri*—enhances the tenability of this argument. The word is derived from *al-gamra*, “the moon.” It means that the horse's color is moon-like. As the reader may notice, the cosmic dimension serves as a recurrent motif in the representation of authority. Embedding local values and beliefs within a universal framework with cosmic and divine attributes is constructing a ‘regime of truth’. The power of the cosmic and the divine may sanction it as true. Westermarck says that “the noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much *baraka* in it...it gives blessing to its owner and its house...evil spirits avoid a place where there is a horse...it prays God...The holiest horse which ever existed was Sidna Ali's horse” (1926, 97–99). His horse was black (*adham*). Also, the horse (*al-aghār*) with white marks on the forehead or the hoofs is hallowed. The more the white color is spread on the skin of the horse the more it is venerated. The shinning white horse, for instance, is customarily used in the ceremonial act of *al-bay'a* and to draw the cart carrying the dead to the cemetery (though the race and status of the two horses may not be similar). The white horse is therefore a symbol of *baraka* and prosperity; it is also an index of virility and knighthood. In the Arab world, the horse has always been associated with battles and feuds. It evokes the popular idea of warfare.²¹ By taking their complaint to the 'Afsa,

²¹ People tend to attach ritual value to objects, plants, animals and humans of great importance to them in their natural world. According to Westermarck (1926),

the visitors of Ben Yeffu seem to conjure up a moment of tension and war, a moment of becoming for now they are standing in front of a savior who will take revenge on those whom they think they have ruined their lives. The targeted enemies on whom they vent their wrath are those less intimidating members of the same social stratum; stereotypes of the *other* like neighbors, friends and relatives. It is an opiate world of infighting in which the subalterns keep accusing each other of regularly frustrating each other's expectations.

The Kerkur (cairn) is another monument erected in the edifice of authority at the shrine. It is a pile of stones, standing in a small square, surrounded by a low wall and is situated next to the *mṣalla* (an open-air mosque). It marks the place where Sidi 'Abdelaziz first stood when he came to the region, gathered people and decided to settle there. Consistent with their system of nomenclature, the Buffis name it Sid al-Kerkur. The prefix sid/sidi is added to the name of males descending from a sharifian lineage. Buffis require their visitors to call the cairn Sid al-Kerkur using the Moroccan prefix of honor "sidi" or else they get angry. The Kerkur is considered a holy place and also called *maqām ṣāliḥin* (the house of the pious). It is named as such because a lot of saints used to visit it in the past. It is also called the town of jinns (*madīnat al-jinn*). Visitors circumambulate it seven times and concurrently put three smaller stones on top of each other and place them in one of the niches of the pile while begging Sidi 'Abdelaziz for a favour. This practice is also believed to chase away *tab'a* and the evil eye.

Furthermore, saints in the past saw in their visions that at the top of the Kerkur there was a cannon resembling an electricity pole; a phallic, castrating and fear-provoking vision that may coerce supplicants into acquiescence. Another daunting image of the Kerkur is embodied in the subterranean passageway connecting it to the *khalwa*. Now it is closed because once a patient got lost in it. Even the tales narrated about the panacean effect of Sid al-Kerkur present frightening situations. The following story told by one of the healers is a good case in point:

In the forties, there was a *shrif* named Ahmed l-Hireh, who was well versed in the Qur'an. He happened to be crippled. He could not walk. He used to consult the *ḥufdan* for *shub*, and spend every night at *maqam*

Moroccans have a ritual regard for animals like sheep, camels, cows, for produce like milk, bread, honey, for minerals like clay, salt, copper, gold, silver and for humans like the Prophet and saints. All these are thought to possess *baraka*.

ṣalihin. For about a month, two people would take him to and fro from Sid al-Kerkur. One day, when he was asleep, he had a dream. He saw two people who came to him carrying a bundle of long human bones. They fabricated a ladder with those bones and took the crippled man and made him climb the ladder. When he reached the top, the ladder fell apart and the man fell to the ground. He got up startled from his nightmare believing that he was hurt. To his amazement, he discovered that he could walk again. He collected his belongings and went home. The following night he slaughtered a sheep and fed the *shurfa* and *ṭulba* there.

This dream conveys sinister imagery. The metaphor of the ladder made up of human bones depicts a menacing atmosphere of death and puts the addressee at arms length from not taking the *baraka* of the Kerkur seriously. It reminds the addressee of the supernatural power of the saint. A lame person is enabled to walk by means of the *baraka* of Sid al-Kerkur. In this story, there is no probing in the patient's health conditions, but only a boastful display of the *baraka* of the saint and his vicinity.

Other monuments that inspire awe and veneration in the maraboutic followers at the shrine and contribute into constructing the edifice of authority are the Red Slope (al-ʿAgba al-Ḥamra) and the Palace (al-Qṣar) of the saint. The Red Slope is the place where the cow in the founding legend was re-slaughtered and resurrected. It was first slaughtered at a place called al-ʿOuina, but the butcher bungled the ritual, so the cow fled bellowing to that place where it fell down. There it was slaughtered again. Its blood colored the soil. From that time on the soil remained red and sacred—this is a myth associated with the miracle of resurrection. From the bloodstains covering the ground it is clear that the place is still used for slaughtering. The place also has a primitive shanty (*ḥawsh*), a cairn (*kerkur*), and thorns (*shṭab*) full of female after-combing molted hair (*mshagas*) thrown as *tabaʿ*. People also bring red soil (what the Buffis call *al-ḥenna*) from it. This is believed to be the “grenade of jinn.” There are some *shurfa* who claim that they fortify their dwellings against jinn-attacks by spreading *ḥenna* in every room in the house.

There is another version that says that Ben Yeffu declared the soil of the place sacred and that it cured all sicknesses. Another version goes that al-ʿAgba al-Ḥamra is called as such because the tribes wronged the saint, so he got very angry and wanted to quit the region. When he started to leave, because of his wrath all the houses and land started following him. At the ʿAgba al-Ḥamra, the tribesmen implored him. They made up for their disgrace by sacrificing a cow in his honor. The saint agreed to stay. And the blood colored the place red.

The Qsar is another monument bearing witness to the hegemonic structures at Ben Yeffu. It is said to have been restored by a patient under the directives of the dead saint. In the fifties a chicken dealer in Casablanca was attacked by a *jenniya* and fell sick. He came to the shrine but whenever he wanted to leave, his pains worsened. Then he stayed. During his sojourn, he had a dream in which the saint appeared to him and ordered him to rebuild the old palace. He did as he was told, and thus felt better. In another dream, he saw the *jenniya* killed by gunshots.

These stories and arrangements of the sanctuary map the dynamics of power relations played out inside the shrine. The *shurfa* occupy dominant positions by virtue of their inherited power and the maraboutic clients submit to them by virtue of their faith (*niya*) in this power to solve their problems. These clients or rather followers consider the saint as a distributing center that can wipe out their grief. So as not to lose hope in this center and keep cherishing opiate beliefs in its capacity, a whole configuration of authority is reproduced at the shrine. Practices, narratives and arrangements are ritualized to fuel the clients' patience and faith in the maraboutic center to better their social conditions and offer them solace. In short, the maraboutic center is endowed with an aura of royal mystery.

The mythic Sultan with superhuman attributes usually has his symbolic objects and places worshipped by ordinary people. The Sultan's horse may be sacred. The palace where he lives may also be sacred. Other royal rituals put restrictions on the food he should eat and the dress he should put on. The ideological implications of all this is that people should be loyal to this authority and accept it with zest. Sometimes these rituals aim at producing divine kingship. As a symbol of the country, the Sultan should neither fall ill nor die. His powers are stressed as unique, which may serve to sustain the political system of which he is the head (Beattie, 1964, p. 211). Like this mythic Sultan, Ben Yeffu is endowed with mystical identification. He seems to be a Sultan whose power is only one of its kind. The Buffi community still revere his horse's hoof-print, the palace where he lived and the cairn where he stood the first time he arrived. The Buffis address their grandfather as a Sultan, using expressions like "*A Mulay Sultan Sidi Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu.*"

To conclude, one may halt and inquire about the ideological significance of these maraboutic structures. Combs-Schilling (1989, 1996, 1999) maintains that the sultan as a historical construct seeks through

various rituals to be rooted in popular imagination. To apply her theory to maraboutism, we may hold that through maraboutic rituals, monarchic structures are reproduced to the extent that they become popular collective social representations. The sultan-saint incarnates the schema of domination in people's politico-religious imagination. Maraboutic performances in this sense serve the domestication of the subaltern groups and the stimulation of their patience and hope that distributing centres (saints, sultans...) have the capacity to fulfil their expectations. It is a socialization process that takes place to make people perceive the hierarchies and dominant systems that shape their social interactions as "natural." In short, to accept Ben Yeffu as a sultan is to accept the system of authority he validates.

E. *The Ritual of Call for Rain*

The dominance of the saint is further institutionalized by his so-called power to bring on rain in times of drought and cure in times of epidemics. The predominant belief is that the saint has the capacity to fortify the rural and urban regions of the whole area, if not the whole country, against all sorts of calamities. So, when a drought or disease attacks the area, the popular tradition decrees that Oulad Ben Yeffu hold one of the two flags they have inherited from their grandfather—either the flag of God's help and protection, or the flag of rain,²²—then go out touring the tents and collecting alms to organize a feast (*sadaqa*) at the shrine. Their prayer march is ritualized in that they circumambulate Sidi Ahmed and Sidi al-Bdawi seven times reiterating prayers for rain.²³ In times of drought, they also leave a portion from the alms to paint Sidi Buzkri's shrine and organize a religious dinner there.

²² The flag of God's help and protection is called *l-lam dyal llufiya* and the flag of rain *l-lam dyal al-ghaitiya*. The flags' fabric is said to date back to the saint's time, and is thought to be sacred. One of the healers told me that one of the flags' cloths was ragged, so a *sharif* merchant living in Casablanca volunteered to refurbish it; when he brought the flag back to the shrine, it was with a new fabric. Ever since he kept the ragged fabric with him, his business did not go well. The healer advised the merchant's brother to tell him that it was risky for him to keep the cloth at home and that he should bring it back to the Bufti community because it was their collective patrimony.

²³ The standard prayer for rain reads as follows: "our lord we look for your contentment! We are standing by your threshold! No one will be merciful to us except you! You the most merciful of all!" ("*mulana ns'aw redak u 'la babak wāqifin/la men yerhamna siwak ya arham rahimin*")

Why should Oulad Ben Yeffu paint Sidi Buzkri's shrine? In fact, they paint it every year. They have inherited this duty (*'uhda*) from their forefather Sidi 'Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu. Sidi Buzkri's shrine is situated by the Atlantic coast about 2 kilometers north of al-Oualidiya region. He is a saint whose duty (*kulfa*) is to evoke rain. He has left no descendents. Ben Yeffu came to know about the saint through a Fasi's dream. The tale about Sidi Buzkri reads as follows:

A pious man living in Fes had a dream. Sidi Buzkri appeared to him in the dream, and told him that his shrine was located in al-Gharbiya region near a *shaykh* called Ben Yeffu, and that he should contact him. He explained to him that he suffered from the roots of a fig tree (*karma*) that invaded his body and that he wanted them to remove from there. The man journeyed from Fez to Ben Yeffu asking people on his way to show him where Ben Yeffu was. When he arrived, he told the *shaykh* about his dream. The latter sent his jinn servants in search for Buzkri's shrine. When he got informed of its location, he accompanied the Fasi there. They dug out the corpse, removed the roots of the *karma* and replaced the corpse in its tomb. In the meantime, Ben Yeffu asked the dead saint about his responsibilities (*bash mkallef*). The saint told him that he was from the folk who were designed by Allah to open the doors of rain (*ahl l-ghait*) and that Ben Yeffu had his promise "if one of his descendents or slaves suffered from drought, they would just come to his shrine and the doors of comfort will be open (*hada 'ahd bini u-bink/ila daq l-hal/sayfet liya weldek ula 'abdek rah y-t-fteh bab l-faraj*)."

From that time on, Oulad Ben Yeffu would go on pilgrimage to Sidi Buzkri whenever the land got dry. *Tulba* living near the saint would join them there and a Qur'an reading dinner would be organized.

During Ben Yeffu's time, a drought attacked the region. So, Ben Yeffu and his sons went to paint Sidi Buzkri and ask him to mediate their prayers for rain. Once they finished the painting, they heard a voice from the tomb telling them to hurry back home so as not to be caught in the torrents of rain. 'Abdellah Dihaji, one of Ben Yeffu's sons, told his father: "how come that the sky is transparent like copper and the soil is like lead and the man is telling us to hurry with our cattle because it is going to rain (*sma šāfya mteḥ nḥās u al-arḍ mteḥ rṣās u ssiyed kay gul lina hamzu khlās*)!" He hardly spoke those words when thunder started roaring farther in the sky and the clouds running from different corners to the region. Then, the rain started pouring in torrents. Ben Yeffu and his sons were all drenched to the extent that 'Abdellah's mouth got blue from cold rain. Even now, Buffis distinguish Dihaji tribesmen by their mouths' blue color (narrated by some Buffi healers).

This miracle of bringing on rain bestowed by Sidi Buzkri upon Ben Yeffu and his descendents adds one more important constituent to the edifice of authority at the shrine. The tale legitimizes the saint's specialty

in evoking rain. According to the tale, Ben Yeffu has acquired this *ihaba* from a saint “gifted in rain evocation” (*min ahl l-ghait*). By choosing Ben Yeffu to uproot the fig tree and render the tomb more comfortable for its owner to enjoy an eternal stay and by receiving Sidi Buzkri’s *baraka* in return, the tale legitimizes the saint’s power. It presents him as an elect whose social and religious status is divinely sanctioned—needless to mention here the idea that Ben Yeffu can talk to the dead, another miracle the tale adds to the miracles encountered before.²⁴

To supplicate Allah for rain by the intercession of the saint, the Buffis sing a chant their forefather composed for such an occasion. They say that he used to chant it in times of drought to ask Allah to respond to his call by watering the land and cattle with rain, and He did.

The Supplication for Rain

O Allah our children have grown weak,
Our men and women thirsty and hungry!
Corn and cattle have been lost,
And fears of extinction have worsened!
Sins have become apparent on people’s faces.
In the sea of sins people have plunged!
Birds have fled high and beasts have been famished.
Insects and plants have been wedged!
All have been fed up with drought.
All are about to perish!
You are the ever merciful and forgiver!
You are the most responding, responsible and generous!
You are the only one we can go to,
To ask for healing and redemption!
If you want to punish us,

²⁴ The tale of Sidi Buzkri echoes other tales of anonymous saints encroached upon by the villagers living nearby or by the descendents of other noted nearby saints. Anonymous saints usually find themselves with new fake descendents or bereaved of their powers through succession tales narrating about how they have conveyed their powers to the nearby well-known saints. The best example in this respect is Sidi Buzkri. Another example of an anonymous saint in Doukkala region is Lalla Aicha al-Bahriya in Azemmour. No one knows about her real origins; some women there claim descent from her though fieldwork research proves them to be pretenders. Tales of love between her and the famous saint of Azemmour Mulay Bouchaib are recounted all over the region. It is said that she came from the Middle East after a long distant love story to meet him but died by the river bank. A transference of miraculous powers has taken place, and Lalla ‘Aicha’s miracles have been somehow linked to those of Mulay Bouchaib—the donor of boys (*‘attay l-‘zara*). His *baraka* is said to be also encroached upon by the nearby *duwar* of Shwafina who claim to be his descendents. Both saints are believed to share the power of curing sterility, spinsterhood, and *tab’a*.

We are all full of sins!
 If you want to forgive us,
 You are full of virtue!
 You can find others than us to punish,
 But we cannot find another God to worship.
 We are your children even if we disobey you,
 Even if we go beyond the limits!
 We have not disobeyed you willingly,
 But this might happen in the country!
 So clean us of our sins and forgive us!
 Be merciful to us and charitable with your rain in torrents!
 Rain in abundance!
 Do not destroy your worshippers with their sins!
 You, who has the keys of mysteries!
 Do not hasten your worshippers' punishment!
 You, who has not left flies on its surface!
 Any worshipper who calls on you says:
 Prayer and peace on the leader and chosen one, Mohammed, the loved
 one,
 And his friends the honest ones! The victors of Islam with horses.
 Its composer is a son whose name is sharifian,
 'Abdelaziz also called by the title, Ben Yeffu.
 (For the Arabic version, see Appendix II, text 7)

The verse describes the physical and psychological effects of drought on the population. It is a chant addressing God to confer his mercy and redemption on the suffering of famine victims. The verse adopts a seemingly religious standpoint. It regards the natural occurrences as results of people's sins against Allah. This conviction stems from a religious predominant belief that moral depravity may spur Allah's wrath on people, hence the risk of natural catastrophes. For instance, in December 2004, when an earthquake struck off the Indonesian island of Sumatra causing a tsunami wave that devastated the nearby areas, killing nearly 300,000 people, a Moroccan Islamist-oriented newspaper came up with a report based on the conviction that tsunami was God's wrathful response to Sumatra natives and tourists' immoral conduct. It even warned Moroccans against a similar fate if they went on tolerating sexual tourism and prostitution. Such metaphysical explanations have recurrent antecedents in the history of Morocco.

During the Middle Ages, especially during the Almohad epoch, the population endured a great deal of natural calamities due to the hostility of the climate. The religious elite, *fuqaha*, attributed the happenings to the wrath of Allah. They defined natural calamities as accidental events befalling people on account of their sins against Allah. They held the

belief that to redeem the earth and purge it from sinners, Allah sends fatal storms, devastating floods, rapacious birds and insects, freezing cold and hellish fire to the population. The majority of the *‘ulama* explained those events in metaphysical terms. Apart from Ibn Khaldun and very few others, the rest resorted to metaphysical explanations. Even Ibn Zuhr—a great physician of his time—explained difficult illnesses in religious terms. He said that the diseases without evident causes might result from the wrath of Allah, which was beyond the doctor’s specialty (Boulqib, 2002, p. 32).

In the same vein, Ibn Al-Banna’ Al-‘Adadi Al-Murakushi claimed that the cosmic movement of other planets in the universe might cause natural catastrophes. He said: “If the sun or moon eclipses in January, a drought and famine will take place in the country of the Maghreb, causing the death of animals and the invasion of locusts” (cit. in Boulqib, 2002, p. 32; author’s translation). Ibn Haidur, another of the period’s intellectuals, also used the metaphysical in his explanation of the causes of epidemics. He attributed the air pollution in some measure to the movement of planets and stars, and suggested that people should recite the following prayers as a preventive measure: “You the ever alive! You the ever merciful! You the ever wise [*ya hayun ya hannan ya hakim*]!” (Al-Bazaz, 1992, pp. 389–93). Yet, the question that looms large at this point is how can we gloss over what is scientific, cultural, political and economic in cosmic natural dimensions, and attribute it all to God? Such explanations may be exploited by the ruling elite to absolve themselves from accountability for their wrong steps, and may inversely turn their locations into distributing centers of *baraka* which the suffering victims will take as their destination.

Back to the ritual of call for rain at Ben Yeffu, some *shurfa* maintain that in the past the Buffis celebrated it by the ceremonial act of symbolically crucifying Ben Fṭaiṭu in the tower of the mosque for one night. Ben Fṭaiṭu is a man who comes from one of the two tents of al-Fṭaiṭat that still co-exist with the Buffis from the saint’s time. The story goes that the saint has cursed this tribe with dispersal so that only two tents are left; they never increased in number. Let it be recalled that the saint has cursed them because of their unjust act of bereaving him and his sons from having a portion of meat from their slaughtered cow (see the founding legend, chap. 1). Ben Fṭaiṭu used to be taken in a ceremonial march bound with ropes to the mosque. Then some Buffis would volunteer and take him up to the tower to bind him there for the whole night. Of course, the tradition died out. Ben Fṭaiṭu repre-

sented the scapegoated *other* the Buffis were willing to sacrifice for the sake of their own welfare. The case of Ben Fṭaiṭu evokes the notion of the *pharmakos* who has always been targeted in different cultures and historical periods because he is believed to threaten the cohesiveness of the social fabric.

Like this archetypal human *pharmakos*, Ben Fṭaiṭu is this scapegoat emblematically burdened with the sins of the Buffi community and symbolically crucified to rid the community of its wickedness. Thus, a human being is chosen to innocently bear the blame of the community and expiate their impurity because he is strange to the sharifian lineage and mythically assorted as a *pharmakos*. Ben Fṭaiṭu is targeted because of his alien identity in the Buffi social context. He belongs to the mythic tribe chased by the saint, and thus ought to be the Buffis' scapegoat. The cultural schema of master and servant is hence blatantly enacted in the ritual of call for rain.

To conclude, one may argue that at the heart of the Buffi maraboutic culture lies a paradigm of authority that juxtaposes absolute dominance with absolute submission. The Buffi healing practice as part of this culture is a pertinent illustration of how the master-disciple schema informs all major aspects of Buffi social relations. The following chapter will also show how the scapegoated *Other* is tried in a mythic court having its own rules and procedures modeled consistent with the fundamental dialectic of master and servant. Jinns are called to this court in turn to receive their sentence by a jury of *shurfa* or by the supreme judge Ben Yeffu and his saint collaborators. The jurisdiction of this court makes of the Buffi maraboutic configuration a universal apparatus liable to judge jinns from different nationalities and religions. But as the analysis may show later, the court is structured along the lines of the local stereotypical patterns of real courts. In other words, the jinn trial as a discourse stems from the *shurfa* and the patients' shared social representations of real court schemata.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PARADIGM OF AUTHORITY: THE MYTHIC COURT OF JINN

The structures of the mythic court at the shrine of Ben Yeffu are epitomized in its design and organization. The design of the court is modeled on real court architecture with a square perimeter and raised platform. As for its functional structure, it resembles the apparatus of real courts and police stations. The mythic court at the shrine is held in the form of a trial made up of a set of rules that govern the healer-jinni's relationship. These rules ensure the reproduction of the existing authority and power-relations between the participants. The jinni is reduced to an institutional submissive role of defendant and the *shrif* or saint is elevated to an institutional master role of judge. The Buffi court is thought to have control over jinns worldwide, a universal jurisdiction that makes Ben Yeffu and his descendents reach the summit of masterhood.

The square design of the court is intended to play the discursive role of both communication and surveillance within the maraboutic institution. It is an embodiment of the asymmetrical social rapport between the saint judge who occupies a dominant position and the supplicant petitioner who occupies a subordinate one.

A. Court Design

The court of Ben Yeffu is built in accordance with the old, traditional square plan. There are two squares in the shrine, a square at the first entry of the shrine lined with 15 small cells and another inside facing the *qubbas* (domes), also lined with 18 small cells. The cells are about two square meters with doors painted in blue. They are built for the patients to lodge in during their stay at the shrine. Habitually, visitors offer two sugar-cones to the *hufdan* and 20 dh. to the caretaker to get a cell. But during the *moussem*, the cells are rented by the *hufdan* at the price of 200 dh.

Why are the cells built opposite the *qubbas*? Does the square design of the court have any social significance? From a psychoanalytic

perspective, the square design of the shrine plays an important role in the Buffi healing practice. It lubricates the patients' communication with one another. This open space enables people to meet, talk and share their suffering. Stories of extraordinary cure are exchanged among patients. Mutual invitations during mealtime are also exchanged among families. It is a cozy atmosphere in which the patient feels what may be termed "group support." In this respect, Crapanzano observed the following:

The group, which consists of family, friends, and neighbors as well as [the curers], not only offers the patient sympathy, encouragement, and the hope of cure, but also mobilizes itself to cure the patient of his troubles. This mobilization serves to alter the relations between the patients and the members of the group themselves. Men and women, for example, are in closer, more intimate contact during the preparation for a ceremony. It is possible that such a rearticulation of social relations may help to reduce socially generated tensions that are in part responsible for the patient's condition. Mobilization of the group, moreover, involves sacrifices of time and money that serve the patient as an assurance of the group's care and concern. A responsibility not to let the group down is placed upon him. (1973, p. 215)

The court's architecture accentuates the group's role in the curing process. From my experience with patients at Ben Yeffu, I have come to realize that visitors establish contact as soon as they unpack their bags in their cells, or sometimes even before, especially if there is a scene of jinn eviction going on. Thanks to this design, patients have the opportunity to exchange information about the sicknesses they suffer from. Relatives, friends, neighbors and healers convince the patient that his illness is caused by jinns, a metaphysical explanation that alleviates the patient's remorse and shame about his sickness since he feels that he is not responsible for his own condition. He is told that there is another being inside him who acts on his behalf, and so the patient is relaxed for he thinks he is no longer accountable for his deeds. At the shrine, he may express his socially unacceptable desire. But if he becomes aggressive and threatens the group, he will be thrust in the *khalwa*, a dark solitary confinement, for a short span of time till he regains his senses.

The patients' personal problems are divulged in public and thus exteriorized, a cathartic function of value. Thanks to this design, the process of jinn eviction is performed in front of a large audience. The group watches the healing process. What does the word "watch" mean in this context? The audience experiences the tensions that are symboli-

cally played out before them. Some may collapse during the spectacle and also need to be exorcised. Others may discover their own sickness as they feel tension.

The square design of the court is mapped according to distinctions of power and status. The *qubbas* are facing the East (*qibla*), with a courtyard in the middle and cells lined around the square facing the *qubbas*. To get to the cells you descend two stairs from the courtyard. To get inside the *qubbas* you climb three stairs. So, the *qubbas* are set up on a platform higher than that of the cells. This design is familiar in locations where authority is played out like our real courts, for instance. In our courts, the audiences sit on stools facing the *qadis* on a podium. The discourse there articulated is structured by a distinction between the high and the low: the authority of the judge vs. the obedience of the prisoner. Similarly, Ben Yeffu's design takes the form of a court. The patients are housed in the cells waiting for their turn (*nuba*) to be judged by the saint for the grievances they have done. Though there is an open room in the shrine called *mahkama*, an iconic place where the *hufdan* sit to welcome visitors, and the jinn trials take place, we may consider the whole shrine a court by itself and thus stretch further the metaphor of *mahkama*, especially that the healers can practice *siri'* all through the surrounding area, without forgetting the saint collaborators of the region who also participate in the mythic court of Ben Yeffu.

While we opt for the normal use of the word "patient" in cases of jinn possession, the *hufdan* would use the word *jenn*. They address their patients as *khushbas* (pieces of wood) haunted by *jnun*. For instance, I used to see them throwing aggressive patients in the *khalwa*. They did not care about which posture the patient should assume while he was thrown. The grotto was about three meters deep, and its tunnel was not wide. Besides, there was an iron ladder along the tunnel. When I asked them to check whether the patient was hurt, some *hufdan* immediately replied that the jinni could not be hurt. They explained to me that the jinni controlled the *khushba* and thus could not let it be harmed. The body for them is but a *khushba* (an inanimate piece of wood) that cannot feel pain, a simplistic distinction derived from the complex opposition of body and soul in Islam.¹

¹ Very many Moslems believe that the body is an ephemeral incarnation of the soul. It dies and goes to the grave. As for the soul, it is supposed to travel to its Creator and carries on living eternally—needless to mention that it is also believed that the day of resurrection includes the revival of the body (*khushba*) as well.

To expand on the metaphor of the court, we may compare the shrine's design to prison architecture. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault maintains that the square design of prison permits a vigilant surveillance of prisoners and thus the process of disciplining—inspiring docility—is carried out meticulously. At Ben Yeffu, the process of surveillance is performed unobtrusively. The healers sit in the *mahkama*, an open room adjacent to the *qubbas* facing the square, drink tea and chat with each other. Simultaneously, they spy what is going on in cells. They survey the patients, their behavior and their interaction with each other. This network of gazes in the shrine includes the caretaker's observations and other volunteers' gazes like beggars and *mashduds* (people caught by the saint). This machinery of control is also secreted for the imperatives of security and morality. Three years ago, a tragic event occurred in the shrine when a woman poisoned herself in one of the cells under mysterious conditions. Some *hufdan* maintained that it was discovered, from what she had vomited in the cell, that she had ingested pesticides. Following that incident, the authorities ordered the *muqaddem* of the *duwar* to knock on the cells' doors at the shrine and check the patients' identity cards. The *muqaddem* was also given a special record book in which he registered the visitors' contact details. While these procedures are no longer in place, the *hufdan* play the role of informers for State authorities. They voluntarily keep an eye on the visitors and inform the authorities if they suspect anyone. After terrorists' attacks on Casablanca on 16 May 2003, the *hufdan* have been notified to inform the authorities straight away if a bearded visitor or any other dubious person may come to the vicinity. This machinery of surveillance is also reinforced due to the fact that some women come to the shrine to practice sex work. A vigilant network of communications is set up to prevent debauchery and commodified sex.

The design of the shrine evinces the institution as a disciplinary apparatus where power is exerted by means of observation. Patients' conduct is under the microscope of imposed procedures and hierarchical observations. In this respect, the *hufdan*'s gaze is an instrument of controlling jinn behavior at the shrine. Their gaze can detect the presence (*hudur*) of the jinni in the patient and help them discipline its conduct. The following example illustrates the disciplinary power of the gaze and how it operates within the maraboutic framework. A Buffi healer says:

During the *moussem*, three *tulba* came to the shrine from Sebt Gzula. Two of them were father and son. The son was handicapped. After prayer, the

father sat with other *ṭulba* in the *maḥkama* and recited the Qur'an. When they finished, he went to his son, carried him in his hands and brought him inside the *ṭulba*'s circle. He asked them to make a *fatḥa* (blessing prayers) for the son. When the *ṭulba* started reciting the *fatḥa*, Sidi Ahmed, one of the *ḥuṣḍān* at the shrine, gazed at the son (*ḥakker fih shuṣḥa*). The boy started twisting his body and disturbing the *ṭulba*. Sidi Ahmed immediately felt the presence of the jinni in the boy. He took him by the forehead pulled him nearer and told him: "Behave well! You are in a sacred place and in front of the *shuṣḥa*. If you don't behave well here, where are you going to behave well?" The boy calmed down.

Suddenly, when a *ṭaleb* started reciting the *fatḥa*, the boy started reciting with him a new chapter from the Qur'an (*ḥaḥ ḥizb*). He started reading from *surat al-Baqarah* [the Cow], *aya* 42: "do not confuse truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth knowingly." He pointed to them to follow him in reading. They read with him *ṭba' ḥizb* (1/4). That happened under the healers' gaze. Then Sidi Ahmed interrupted him:

ḥfiḍ: This one who has opened a chapter and started reading, is he a jinni or a human being?

Jinni: jinni!

H: *ṭaleb*?

J: Yes, *ṭaleb*!

H: what's your name?

J: my name is Naq', sir!

H: Believer or Jewish?

J: No, I am a believer! How come that I am well-versed in the Qur'an and you ask me whether I am Jewish?

H: Does the believer reduce his brother to this state of decline?

J: He has been unjust to me, sir!

H: What has he done to you?

J: I am living in a cave. He went there and pissed on me!

H: He does not know, the believer forgives his brother!

J: I am forgiving him, sir!

H: Upon your word!

J: Upon my word (*they shake hands*)!

H: Release him! Let him stand up!

The jinni released the boy. The latter stood up. The *fqiḥ* asked him to sit down, then to stand up. He did as he was told. When the *fqiḥ* kept asking him such questions, he took the *fqiḥ* by his hand and told him: "let's go inside the *qubba* of Sidi 'Abdelaziz!" Once walking in, the *fqiḥ* gazed at the boy and realized that his face was still deformed. Then he told the jinni:

H: Mr. Naq'!

J: Yes!

H: The cheek and the mouth are still deformed!

The boy made a violent action with his face and his complexion was restored. But the following day, the boy was ill again. According to Sidi Ahmed, it was not the same jinni; it was another one perhaps sent by the first. The Father and son had to stay at Ben Yeffu for a month during which the son saw Ben Yeffu in a dream asking for *dbiḥa* (sacrifice). The father brought it and every body ate from it. The boy felt better and went home.

From this story, it is obvious that the healer's gaze and surveillance have the power to discipline the possessed patient. There are other healers who express the power of the gaze differently. One of them says: "When the jinni is present, I change from inside (*lemma kay nzel l-melk ana kan tghayer*)."² This is germane to the idea mentioned above, that patients fall in a paroxysm of possession while watching the process of jinn eviction. It is almost as if transference occurs in the relationship between healers and *jnun*/patients or rather their recurrent encounters establish a personal bond between them. In other words, healers frequently live through the conflicts conveyed by their patients' crises.

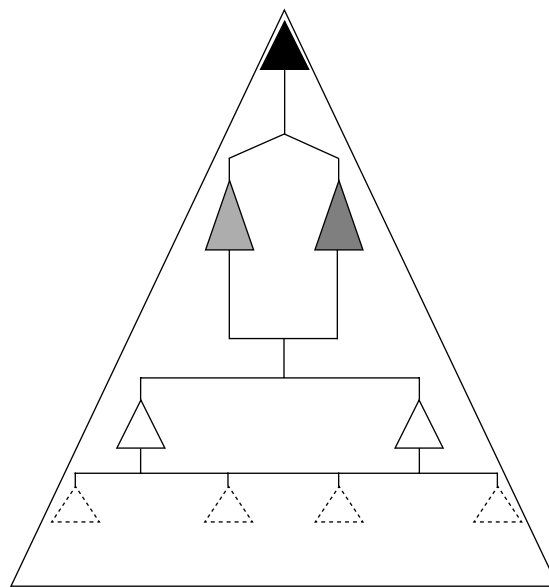
In sum, the Buffi court's architecture facilitates a network of observations and communications established to restore the patient to normal life. The word "norm" suggests a disciplinary process based on the use of power. The healer-patient relationship within this network is asymmetrical in that the healer seeks to discipline the patient and construct him into a subordinate personality obeying whatever he is ordered to do. When his obedience is prompt and blind, the patient, or rather the docile body is believed to be cured.

B. Court Institution

At Ben Yeffu, jinn trials are conducted in a mythic court that tries "jinns" from different parts of the world. It has different appellations in the Buffi maraboutic context. Like the mythic court at Bouya Omar,² the court at Ben Yeffu is named *al-maḥkama al-kubra* (supreme court),

² Naamouni wrote: "*Ce tribunal est conçu à l'image de celui que présidait Sidna Souleïman, le Roi Salomon. Les Rahhaliyyine et les possédés affirment que les règles de cette maḥkama sont contenues dans le livre du 'Roi des Génies,' appelé couramment 'Qanoun Sidan Souleïman' (code de Maître Salomon), qui aurait été donné à Bouya Omar au moment où l'Assemblée des saints lui octroyait son pouvoir sur les djinns*" (1995, p. 100). Though the descendants of Ben Yeffu do not mention King Solomon's law and claim that their forefather's powers have divine origins, their legends confirm the fact that the assembly of saints in Marrakech gave him the permission to exorcise jinns. This means that Ben Yeffu is recruited in the same tradition like Bouya Omar.

al-mahkama rabbaniya (divine court), *sirr rabbani* (divine secret) to distinguish the institution from its earthly counterparts ruled by mortals. The court is shaped as an imaginary hierarchical structure. The saint Ben Yeffu is located at the top of the pyramid and the rest of saint collaborators from the neighborhood are located at the base of it. His brother and filial relatives occupy intermediate positions. The chart of this hierarchical court reads as follows:



- ▲ The Sultan Sidi ‘Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu nicknamed Sultan l-Khḍar.
- ▲ Sidi ‘Ali (the Sultan’s brother) and Sid l-Bdawi nicknamed *faṣṣal d’awi* (the Sultan’s son)
- △ Sidi Ahmed (the Sultan’s son) and other filial saints buried in the neighborhood.
- △△ Other saints thought to have been in contact with the Sultan like Mul l-Bergi, Sidi Mohammed Shrif and the Ghnimiyyin in Safi.³

Fig. 12

³ Mulay Marigh may also be included at the base of the pyramid. He is a popular saint thought by the Buffis to wield the *baraka* of assisting children in learning the Qur’an or passing their exams. Other sacred places like the Kerkur, al-‘Agba al-Ḥamra, and al-‘Afsa may also be considered as saintly collaborators.

This juridical apparatus is conceived like modern law courts. There is a jury made up of judges. There are lawyers (*hufdan*), jinn *makhzenis*⁴ working with the judges, jinn witnesses, ‘collaborator saints’ and a penal house called the *khalwa*. Like our courts, the courts at Ben Yeffu are arranged in a hierarchical mode. The supreme court of Ben Yeffu dominates all the other saints’ courts, at least from the standpoint of the Buffis. When the patient goes to these courts and his problem proves to be difficult to solve, he is immediately sent to Ben Yeffu’s jurisdiction. Sometimes, trials are held with a jury made up of the sultan and his collaborators or filial relatives. As Naamouni says about Bouya Omar, there are no clear-cut boundaries between these courts: “*Ces tribunaux s’interpénètrent dans un culte errant, qui se traduit par une oscillation permanente du possédé entre le sanctuaire de Bouya Omar et les autres sanctuaires, où les rêves, les impulsions psychiques, et surtout la transe şri’, guident disciplinairement tous les déplacements des malades*” (1995, p. 102).

The predominant style of communication through this top-down structure is the modal form of command. Patients and jinns are summoned to fulfill the commands of the saint or those of his collaborators. The schema of trials is constituted by command vs. compliance. There is no parity between healers and patients. For instance, *nuba* calls jinn miscreants from far and near to the presence of the Sultan to be tried for the grievances they committed. At the end of the trial, the court, specifying the punishment to be inflicted upon the convict, pronounces the sentence.

At Ben Yeffu, the tradition states that the word *maḥkama* is pronounced by the jinni under trial. Through the voice of the patient, the jinni speaks to the *hufdan* or to the patient himself in a dream informing him of the date of the trial and the details of its proceedings. Sometimes the patient has dreams in which he is called to judgment together with the jinni possessing him—the latter assuming a human shape. There are patients who have seen the saint in person judging their cases like the story of the *ṭaleb* from Marrakech quoted earlier. People don’t know the exact times of trials, since everything depends on the *nuba*, or what the *shurfa* call the power of Allah (*al-ighara/ihaba dyal Allah*). There are *jnun* who speak about the exact time to be tried. A healer says that he

⁴ These jinns are believed to be custodians of the shrine and of the patients lodging there. “*Ils protègent le possédé pendant tout son séjour dans le sanctuaire contre les attaques extérieures et le défendent pendant le procès. Ils ne cherchent jamais à agresser ou à faire le moindre mal à personne*” (Naamouni, 1995, p. 103).

exorcised a girl. The *melk* possessing her gave him the time another *melk* would enter the same host and attend the trial. At the given time, the *melka*, 'Aicha al-Baḥrawiya, manifested its presence in the possessed body and stood for her trial. The court of jinn seems to be a well organized institution. Each jinni waits for the turn of his trial. Experienced Buḥfi healers seem to follow what they term a conventional calendar of trials, and choose specific days to exorcise specific jinns. They wait till the day the jinni's trial should take place, and then proceed with his/her eviction. The calendar of jinn trials, some of them suggest, may be charted as follows:

Table—The Calendar of Jinn Trials at Ben Yeffu

	<i>Rabbani Jinns</i>	<i>Shayṭani/Kafir Jinns</i>
Male	<i>maḥkama on Thursday</i> al-Haj al-Mekkawi al-Fqih Shamharush al-Fqih Mulay Ahmed Rabbani Ben 'Ashir Samawi <i>Maḥkama on Saturday</i> al-Haj Mimoun al-Haj Mimoun Ba Sidi	<i>maḥkama on Saturday</i> Mimoun al-Gnawi Mimoun Ṣaḥrawi Mimoun Ganga Mimoun Lihudi Ihudis Shamharush Ḥadush al-Kḥal <i>maḥkama of the butchers (gezzars) on Sunday</i> al-Basha Hammou Hammou al-Mershishi Ṭaik Sidi Hammou Hammou Siyaf Bushaqur Ṭaik Bukumiya
Female	<i>maḥkama on Monday</i> Malika/al-Hajja Malika <i>maḥkama on Wednesday</i> Mira Mimouna Mimouna l-Baḥrawiya <i>maḥkama on Friday</i> 'Aicha al-Baḥrawiya 'Aicha <i>mulat</i> al-Wad/ <i>mulat</i> al-Merja	<i>maḥkama on Wednesday</i> Mira al-Marshishiya Mira <i>khut</i> al-Basha Hammou Mira al-Gnawiya Mimouna Sudaniya Mimouna al-Gnawiya Um Ṣabyan (al-Qrainā) <i>maḥkama on Friday</i> 'Aicha Sudaniya 'Aicha u-'wisha 'Aicha Qandisha 'Aicha Rubala 'Aicha al-Baghiya

It appears that each jinni is assigned a particular day in the week during which he is subject to trial at the court of Ben Yeffu. As the calendar makes it clear, the satanic jinns are tried independently of divine jinns. Also, each possessed individual seems to have an appointed day in the week during which he falls in a paroxysm of possession and performs a ritual of trial (*shra'*) either through trance dance (*jedba*), chanting (*'imara*), or litany (*dikr*). For instance, *shuwafa* Bushra, one of my informants, describes her weekly trial at the shrine. She says that she is haunted by *rabbani* jinns. Bushra performs the *ḥadra* ritually on the eve of Thursday and Sunday. She calls this process *shra'* (trial). The Sultan Ben Yeffu calls her every week on the eve of Thursday and Sunday to go to him reciting litanies (*adkar*; sing. *dikr*). Her calendar seems to differ from the schedule suggested above since no *rabbani* jinns are tried on Sunday, according to the chart above. This implies that the dates given by healers are not uniform. While healers may differ in agendas, they do not differ in aims. To endow their work with credibility in their clients' eyes, they often follow strict timetables like real physicians. The *shuwafa* Bushra, for instance, works from morning to afternoon prayer. Then she stops. At sunset prayer, she resumes her work till the '*isha*' prayer when she stops again until the following day. Her work is regulated by her belief that jinns have specific times to be evoked.

The ritual of trial (*shra'*) at Ben Yeffu reminds the reader of the ritual of allegiance (*bay'a*) to the saint that used to take place each year during the *moussem*. Possessed patients are impelled by their *jwads* to go to the shrine to perform the ritual the jinni likes to do in front of the saint. It is an amazing sight when you see patients from different parts of the kingdom journeying to the shrine at the same time because it is their trial day, a ritual of submission *par excellence*. When they sleep by the coffin, or dance in a *ḥadra* according to the silent tune desired by the jinni, one wonders what kind of cure these possessed people expect from this maraboutic order. As Crapanzano writes, "That the majority of Hamadsha patients become devotees of the brotherhood and must periodically perform the *ḥadra*, enter *jedba*, and on occasion slash their heads suggests that there is no permanency to the cure, that there is no personality change of long standing, and that the Hamadsha are destined to reenact their suffering. It is, after all, written" (1973, p. 210). Indeed it is written since the Buffi patients too are destined to re-enact their suffering, either by being caught by the saint, or by the *ḥufdan* by proxy.

The patient's release from the grip of the saint, *tsaifit*,⁵ seems to be an ambiguous process. Sometimes, it is decreed by the saint in a dream and sometimes it is 'decreed' by the *hufdan* through subjective interpretations. The following example may show the reader the way the *hufdan* are going to set a family free from a saint's hold over them. The family is sentenced in a dream to a 'month' stay at the shrine. But the saint's sentence seems to be a matter of interpretation, contingent on the angle of saying. A *hfid* says:

One Saturday, a family from Zmemra came with a sick girl to the shrine. Its members stayed there for about a week. On Wednesday at night the sick girl had a dream. She saw the Sultan dressed in white, who gave her a woman's belt (*mejdul*) with 30 knots. When her mother talked about her daughter's dream to the women in the shrine, they explained to her that the knots meant that the family should stay at the shrine for 30 days. The woman and her daughter were very upset because they were not prepared for the stay. On Thursday at afternoon prayer the girl got paralysed in the lower limbs (*rged 'liha meslanha*) because of her discontent. When the young man who pretended to be the *muqaddem* of the shrine heard about it, he took his 'tools' (*qlem* [pen], sugar cone wrapping paper, *smegh* [wool ink], *kelkha*, and *henna*) and hurried to the patient's cell. He wanted to exorcise her. The jinni in her yelled at him in screams and rejected him. Then her mother called me [the *fqi*, the narrator of the story, is well known in the shrine for his charismatic personality]. That day: "*ḥaḍrat lighara*" [the *baraka* of Allah was present]. I exorcised her with lashes. I lashed her till she started feeling some kind of electricity shock in her legs. Afterwards, as the lashes were getting harder, she stood up; no jinni manifested itself in speech. Then to release her and her mother, I explained to them that the 30 knots in the dream were simply 30 hours they could spend at the shrine. [Thus, he reduced their stay at the shrine to a short span of two days by a clever act of interpretation].

This case is but an example of many in which the *hufdan* have the legitimacy to interfere in the trial affairs and interpret the judgement the way it suits their purposes, if not their interests. In some cases, wealthy families have been caught by the saint for months, giving the *hufdan* the opportunity to milk them as much as they can. At the beginning of my fieldwork at Ben Yeffu, I encountered a girl in her twenties from Sidi Said Ben M'ashu. She was an unschooled, veiled girl, accompanied by

⁵ Naamouni says: "*Le rêve de la délivrance n'est jamais révélé tout de suite hors de l'enceinte sacrée, de peur de créer de nouvelles complications. Certaines personnes ne le dévoilent même jamais. Elles se contentent de dire 'lakna seyyid': le saint nous a libérées*" (1995, p. 172).

her family. She was sentenced to a month stay at the shrine. Her family could not stay away from their property. They seemed to be rich *fellahs*. The *shurfa* maintained that despite their intercession, they could not alter Ben Yeffu and Ben M'ashu's decisions (though they can do it as in the previous example). The *hufdan* told me that even the jinni who informed them of the two saints' sentence did not want to stay for a month. He said that he was in fire. I think they saw in the girl a milch cow since she was offering healers generous gratuities. I saw her giving 50 dh. as *fluḥ* to one of the *hufdan*. I had the opportunity to talk to the "jinni" haunting her. The healer who had already exorcised her and dealt her hard blows because the "jinni" had insulted him suggested to me that we could hold a friendly exchange with the "jinni." Here is the exchange as it is transcribed from a recorded form and translated into English:

Healer: Peace be upon you!

Jinni: Peace be upon you too!

(There is silence, and then the healer asks me to talk to the "jinni." I hesitate because this is my first experience. The healer resumes the conversation)

H: Who are you inside this *khushba*, talking to us?

J: 'afrit

H: 'afrit, is this your title?

J: Yes!

H: No need to ask you further about the cause of your entry into this *khushba*, but tell us why?

J: I have entered because of sorcery.

H: How much time are you sentenced to spend in it?

J: A month!

H: And you'll quit the *khushba* and leave it safe?

J: Yes!

H: Whose authority do you obey?

J: I am under the rule of Sidi 'Abdelaziz, Ben M'ashu and Sidi 'Ali.

H: You are under their rule! They have signed you these documents to spend this time?

J: Now I am under Sid 'Abdelaziz's authority.

H: Are you married or not?

J: No, I wanted to marry her but I was sentenced to quit her.

H: How old are you?

J: 27 years-old (*the age of the girl*).

H: Are your parents still alive?

J: Yes, still alive.

H: Believers or infidels?

J: Believers!

H: Believers?

J: Because I am a believer I have entered this believer.

H: Do you have any brothers?

J: Yes!

H: Older or younger?

J: All of them are older than I.

H: This teacher who has come to us, we don't know his situation, is he married or not?

J: Ask him?

H: Cannot you say anything to us about him? Is he married to a Moslem, Nazarene, sharifian or non-sharifian woman?

J: I cannot give you any solution about marriage. I can give you solutions about employment. You know me now; you should acknowledge me/my power.

H: We surrender, and ask to surrender. At this hour, we are not coming to you by means of violence (*addressing the interviewer*). What do you want to ask?

I: I do not have any questions!

H: This is the *'afrit* present!

J: (*interrupts*) If you were not with them I would not have talked to them. I am sentenced by your grandfather and her grandfather...I cannot....)

H: (*interrupts*) You cannot address any stranger!

J: Right!

H: Allah bless you! We, *shurfa*, have a question for you. We want to establish an association but we don't know whether we will succeed in this project or not.

The healer keeps talking while the prayer caller starts calling for afternoon prayer. There is silence. Then the healer says:

Don't go before the caller stops, and consider what we have told you!

H: (*after the calling for prayer*) Are you going to give us some information?

If we go to the *qaid*, is he going to help us?

J: What you have in mind will be realized!

H: things will go well! Thank you!

There is silence

Interviewer: (*to the healer to break the silence and resume the conversation*) Ask him how much time is he in the *khushba*?

H: This teacher asks how much time you are inside the *khushba*?

J: Me!

H: Yes!

J: Two years!

H: Two years! And now you have exploded (*manifested yourself*)!

J: Two years I am fighting with her. She burns me with prayers!

H: Prayerful she is! You my friend, you have been enduring for two years, why? She is not the only one!

J: You cannot find the likes of her, either on earth or at sea, either in our world or yours!

H: Normally, we don't marry with your species.

J: No, there are such marriages. I was about to marry her.

I: Ask him about the cause?

H: He has already told us that the cause was sorcery.

J: (*interrupted*) A woman living near her family hid the spell in the girl's shoe-heel, which lured me to enter the *khushba*!

H: (*silence*) Peace be upon you! We have called you to talk to you and not to evict you. Why don't you work with us? When you quit the *khushba* where are you going to go?

J: I am going to go away!

H: We thought you were a grown up with experience and could help us discover some gold. Here poverty kills me and this *muqaddem*.

J: All praise be to Allah! You are living in prosperity!

H: Very little we have! We want a small car, even if it is old. We are fed up with donkeys, and every time they throw us to the ground, we say one day we will break a limb!

J: (*No answer*)

H: I beg your forgiveness!

J: I beg your forgiveness!

(For the Arabic version see Appendix II, text 8)

From this “friendly exchange” between the healer and jinni, we get an idea about the nature of the mythic court at Ben Yeffu. From a linguistic perspective, the healers and “jinns” use the vocabulary of real courts. Expressions like “sentence” (*hukm*), “interrogation” (*istinfaq*), “papers” (*wraq*), and “signing” (*sni*) all signify that the mythic court is after all imagined in line with real court schemata. The only difference is that the mythic court seems to provide the supplicant with the sense of justice he cannot find in the world of reality. In front of the saint, sultans and servants from jinns stand on equal footing and are tried with a rigorous balance of justice. A patient told the *shurfa* that before his trial he saw with his eyes in a dream other trials of people who had broken the boundaries of their neighbors' land (*harsu l-hdud*). So, not only jinns but also human beings are believed to be tried for their wrongs. This seems to be the imagined court of the subalterns, set up to cater for their need of fairness, and help them keep up faith in divine justice embodied in saints. It is this firm belief in the efficiency of the saint's court that prompts people to ask their offenders to swear at the saint in order to be bound by their oath, for in case of perjury, they run the risk of being damned by the saint. Thanks to this court that social injustices may go unaddressed, and suffering victims continue to hope for a miraculous equitable lot bestowed upon them by the saint.

The mythic court's decisive and basic structure is the healer-jinni/patient's relationship. Though people keep saying that it is the saint who decides the stay of the patient, it is actually the exchange between healer and jinni that specifies the punishment to be inflicted upon the

convicted jinni, especially during the proceeding of eviction. If we take either the exchange above or the exchange quoted in the previous chapter into consideration, we notice that the two participants use uniform illocutionary acts. The healer utters directives and the “jinni” utters representatives. The syntax of directives is trying to get someone to do something and removing the existing constraints on his doing it. When the healer asks the question—“How long are you sentenced to spend here?”—he imposes on the girl who is in a state of altered consciousness to give an answer to the question. She may say one or two days or even a month—it depends on the mood of the exchange, the context where the social interaction takes place, and on her adaptability to her social conditions. There are patients who are drilled in maraboutic discourses and may answer with exact terms like the girl above who comes from Ben M’ashu, a saint who cures rabies and a maraboutic social context where she has grown up familiar with the maraboutic culture. The scenes of jinn eviction I have observed all depend on the healer’s guiding commands. The patients who are drilled in maraboutic discourse know how to answer and may even express their wishes during the *ḡi* process, like travelling to another saint or buying a gold chain. Those who sit for jinn eviction for their first time do not know what to do and improvise responses according to their personal experience and maraboutic knowledge.

To illustrate this point, I further quote the example of an “inexperienced” patient. As I have said before, she has been one of my students and seems to suffer from some form of emotional disorder. She is hypersensitive in over-reacting to both internal and external stimuli. Many a time I found her unexpectedly tearful in my class, or laughing excessively in situations where other students react with a smile. During the regular interviews we had together, Khadija revealed some of her secrets. As a little girl, she was brought up in a magical atmosphere. Her father used to bring ‘Isawa to the house and organize *ḥadra* nearly every night. Their house, she said, was like a *zawiya*. But once her father died, her family gave up that tradition.

Regarding her behaviour, she said she would sometimes put on a wedding dress and make-up, then stand in front of the mirror for hours. The same night a jinni assumed the shape of her brother-in-law and made love to her. She could not believe it. She could not believe that she lost her virginity during those invisible sexual intercourses. Recently, she wanted to sit for the entry exam to the teachers’ training school. She consulted a *shuwafa* for fun to see whether she would succeed in her

exams. To her astonishment, the *shuwafa* told her that she was jinn possessed and that she had three *mluk*. The girl was very frightened and because of her hypersensitive character began narrating her case to every acquaintance. Though I tried to assure her that she did not look as if she were possessed, she still continued to look for satisfactory answers to her situation. She even travelled to Tarudant to do *roqiya* (a ritual of jinn eviction basically performed with Qur'an reciting) to see whether she was jinn possessed. Before that, a friend of hers convinced her to consult a *majdub* in El Jadida reputed to adequately diagnose his patients' problems.

When the girl went to see him, she found at his place a woman and her daughter weeping by his side while he was wailing as if he was mourning at a funeral. When the girl heard those laments, she—who still could not forget the death of her young brother with whom she had closely been intimate—could not endure that atmosphere of sorrow and shut herself out of it by falling in a state of altered consciousness. She could not control herself and started beating her cheeks unwillingly. It was an emotional outburst stronger than her self-control. When she was lying on the ground, the *majdub* pulled her near him, put her head on his knees and started slapping different parts of her body with his hands, warning the jinns 'Aicha, al-Basha Hammou, and Shamharush to leave her in peace. She asserted that she was aware of all what was going on. When she opened her eyes and saw him slapping and shouting, she was too afraid to interrupt him and closed her eyes again till he brought the matter to a close. She said that he gave the audience the impression that he was evicting jinns out of her but she was aware that he was talking to himself. How many patients are like Khadija aware of the healers' illocutionary acts and do render them null and void without perlocutionary effect? I have observed many patients who do not respond to the healer and have little difficulty recognizing that they have experienced a fall or loss of self-control (an altered state of consciousness). As Coon explains:

An altered state of consciousness (ASC) represents a distinct change in the quality and pattern of mental functioning. ASCs typically differ from normal waking consciousness with regard to: sense impressions, body image, intensity of emotion, memory (gaps, loss, or enhancement), time sense, feeling of personal identity, patterns of thought, feelings of self-control, suggestibility, and the meaning attached to events (Ludwig 1966; Tart, 1975). Definitions aside, most people have little difficulty recognizing that they have experienced an ASC. (1980, p. 124)

The idea to be conveyed at this point is that jinns' presence in patients depends to a great extent on their magic worldview—i.e. their belief in their being possessed—over and above their personal experience. If we compare Khadija's case with that of the girl from Ben M'ashu, we may notice that each one of them recognizes her mental alterations differently. Though both of them have been brought up in a magical cultural context (which is normally the case for most Moroccans according to Westermarck, Crapanzano, Geertz, etc.), Khadija reacts differently from the M'ashiya. The latter holds a firm belief in her jinn possession. Her personal experience proves that she is well informed about this type of sickness. She understands how the mythic court functions, how the jinni may be evicted, and how marriage between jinns and mortals takes place. In a word, she is practiced in magical symbols. Khadija is an English-speaking student. She has some notions about jinn possession but does not seem to be familiarized with the practice. Had some healers drilled her into responding to them, perhaps her upbringing in *ḥadra* and belief in *jnun* would have resurrected the jinns haunting her imagination to connoisseurs in acting the drama of possession.

Roqiya's case, as Pandolfo (2006) describes it, illustrates the essential role of the patient's beliefs and magic worldview in the maraboutic encounter. The data Pandolfo collected about Roqiya shows that if the patient is not well informed about the world of jinn possession and does not share the healer's worldview, the communication between them can hardly be established. Healers usually phrase this as mutual trust (*niya*) that should exist between the participants in the curative process. Roqiya was taken to a *fqih*. Though she accepted to participate in his cure, she refused to acknowledge that she was possessed. As Pandolfo wrote: "*Roqiya refuse avec détermination qu'on inscrive son malheur dans le registre de la possession.*" As a result, when the *fqih* perfumed her with incense, he found her to be free from spirit possession. It seems obvious that if the healer and patient do not share the same worldview, it is almost impossible to bring them together in a curative encounter such as jinn eviction.

From my experience at the shrine, I have observed that the patients who are not familiar with maraboutic rituals fail to adhere to healers' instructions and usually break in a paroxysm of panting without speaking at all. The Buḥfi healers never admit that these patients are exempt from jinn possession. They either beat them hard to respond or keep inflicting pain on them ritually hoping to coerce the jinni to manifest

its presence. The *mahkama* of Ben Yeffu seems to be like a stereotypical Moroccan police station (*comisariya*) where the patient has no option but to confess his being guilty; otherwise, he will be flogged. In sum, it is better to be knowledgeable about magic potencies in order to respond to the healer and thus spare yourself punishment behind closed doors in the *khalwa*.

The punishment at Ben Yeffu takes many ritualised forms to compel the patient/jinni to abide by the healer's commands. The most frightening form of punishment is the forceful thrust of the rebellious jinns into the *khalwa*, a solitary dungeon that used to be stretched to the cairn through an underground tunnel about two kilometres long. A patient got lost inside and the tunnel was closed. The dungeon is also named by the Buffis "the prison of jinns." It was a Friday afternoon when a woman from al-Oualidiya was brought sick to the shrine. She screamed and yelled. Though they put her in chains, she was still disruptive. Therefore, the *hufdan* put her in the dungeon so as to calm her down. I asked them about the span of time she had to stay there to feel better. They all looked at me in astonishment as if my question had shed doubt on the authentic power of the saint. Then, I understood that the stay in the *khalwa* or at the shrine and the practice of *ṣri'* all do not have a fixed schedule for cure. Everything depends on the mysterious *baraka* of Sidi 'Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu, if not on the furtive decision of the *hufdan*.

The dungeon used to be the place where the saint retreated to contemplate and worship. Now it is the place where the "jinni" is confined. There are chains inside. The "jinni" is shackled, thrown inside and given very little provisions. Also the healers prevent the patient's family from coming near the dungeon to see how he is doing because this may give the "jinni" moral support. The "jinni" may stay in the obscure dungeon between two days and a week. In fact, there is no fixed span of time set for the "jinni" to spend inside it. If the "jinni" stays for long, the body it haunts may do its waste there; he is also given some hours to see daylight and then back to obscurity till he relinquishes his obstinate refusal to submit to the saint and his descendents. The "jinni" has to surrender; otherwise, he will stay on in this very sinister rocky hole ridden with insects. As a matter of fact, *jnun* abhor it, that's why it is so effective. In the past, there was no problem; people knew the tradition. They used to allow the *shurfa* to beat their sick relatives and threw them in the dungeon for a long time. The *shurfa* were also respected

by the authorities. When they beat someone and he got injured, the authorities turned a blind eye on that. Now, they are prohibited from causing injuries to patients. But they still throw people in the dungeon whatever postures they assume. The ongoing belief is that the “jinni” cannot allow the body to be harmed.

Jinn eviction is not always practised via this violent process of eviction. It may take the form of an invisible trial called “*ṣri‘ al-ghaibi*” that may occur in the patient’s dream or trance at the shrine.

C. *Invisible Jinn Eviction*

At Ben Yeffu, the mythic court does not only take place during the proceeding of jinn eviction practiced by the healers but also during the invisible jinn eviction practiced by the saint during the patient’s trance or dream. This invisible ritual is called *ṣri‘ al-ghaibi* (invisible jinn eviction). There is no music, no colours, and no dance, nothing to stimulate the patient’s trance. Sometimes, the patient circumambulates the coffin with closed or wide unseeing eyes and crossed hands as if they were shackled. At other times, the patient may fall in a fit of *ṣri‘* by the coffin and begins to pant and plead for mercy. The patient may also come inside one of the *qubbas* and sleep near the coffin. During his sleep, he may be exorcised. The *mahkama* may be held in a dream during which the jinni is tried and sentenced to quit the body. The patient does not need to sit in front of a *shrif* to receive the *baruk* of *ṣri‘*. During a dream or trance, the patient may see the Sultan on a white horse holding a sword and evicting the jinni out of him. Sometimes a whole trial takes place during the proceeding. One patient said that he saw the Sultan holding a spear. Where he planted it in the ground, water came forth. This image concurs with the saint’s legendary *baraka* to cause springs to flow.

In *ṣri‘ al-ghaibi*, the saint seems to fulfil the patients’ wishes by conducting a fair trial at the end of which the jinni is either destroyed if discovered guilty of doing harm or chased away if its offence is innocuous, and the patient is released. Stories of invisible jinn eviction legitimise the charisma of the saint and promote his image as the symbol of justice and as the uncontested leader of the distressed. Here are some stories narrated by patients about invisible jinn eviction. A patient told me:

Twenty years ago, he went hunting in the forest and disappeared leaving his wife and young children without sustain. He could not go back home because he was jinn possessed. He inhabited one of the caves till someone came and summoned him to follow him. He took him to the Ghnimiyyin in 'Abda, about nine kilometers from Ben Yeffu. Once there, a woman stood with him in a trial directed by the saint Ben Raḥu as the judge. She was the *jenniya* haunting him. She refused to leave the man alone despite the saint's attempt to convince her to release him. When he realized that she was a hopeless case, the saint went out, took off his gown and waved it toward Ben Yeffu. A *shaykh* came riding on his white horse. The saint told him the story of the plaintiff in detail. The *shaykh* did not talk to her. He summoned two people who went in holding bundles of wood. They prepared a stake and lit the fire. The *shaykh* caught her, bound her, and thrust her on the burning fire. It was an execution by burning. She screamed for help. The plaintiff watched her screaming in despair. She was burnt to ashes. Then, the *shaykh* told him to return home and never go hunting in darkness again.

Another healer narrated his own experience of *ṣri' al-ghaibi* that he went through at the age of eighteen. He said:

I was a young *taleb* when I attended the *mousseem* of Mulay 'Abdsalam in al-Oualidiya. There I heard of the drowning of two boys at sea. I went to watch like many other people and saw the lifesaver holding a towel soaked with blood. When I saw blood I felt struck. Days passed by and I did not have respite. When I used to go to Sid l-Bdawi, I would fall unconscious. One day in the days of Allah, I was called with a woman to a trial in front of Sid l-Bdawi. He appeared in front of us and told her to leave me in peace. I told him: "she is torturing me and you are watching her as a bystander!" Then the saint retaliated vehemently. He ordered her to put her hands in an iron chain (*tarraḥa*) bound from the right corner of the room to the left corner. She hesitated. He threatened her with a knife, and when she put her hands inside, he locked the chain. Day after day, I started pulling through and my memory returned. Still, I did not have appetite yet. When I tasted the first piece of bread and swallowed it, I belched out and fainted. I was about to die. Then I started to believe in the vision. I told my father to slaughter a rooster at the threshold of Sid l-Bdawi and held a gathering of *ṭulba*. Then I told my parents what I saw in the vision and the trial that took place. Little by little I recovered.

From these and other cases I have observed at the shrine, invisible jinn eviction seems to be a dream-like adventure the patient lives during his trance. He sees everything happening in front of him, the trial of the jinni, the saint's punishment and his own release. Do other people see what the patient sees? No, they can only see people wriggling in pain, shouting expressions of surrender (*tslim*), moaning or circumambulating

the coffin frantically. It is the patient who witnesses his own trial in front of himself and narrates its scenes to his relatives after his recovery from the state of delirium. There are patients who fall asleep and undergo the same proceeding of invisible jinn eviction and narrate their dreams the following morning. Also, they claim to be cured.

Invisible jinn eviction or what Naamouni calls “*trance cachée*” is also experienced by patients at Bouya Omar. She says:

Cette transe ne se manifeste par aucune agitation corporelle ou verbale. Elle est caractérisée par un abandon inerte du possédé sur le sol avec perte de conscience. Il est souvent accompagné de bave écumeuse, de soupirs, de gémissements, de balbutiements de la part du malade... quelque fois le malade se lève, tourne autour du tombeau du saint, les bras tendus, comme s'il était enchaîné, en marmonnant, les yeux fermés, et retourne à sa place initiale pour se plonger à nouveau dans ce bouillonnement interne. (1995, p. 143)

Naamouni maintains that invisible jinn eviction affects men more than women, especially those who are educated belonging to a variety of socio-professional strata; whether functionaries, students, teachers, workers, or educated women (1995, p.144). But from my observations at the shrine of Ben Yeffu, these literate socio-professional groups come to the shrine for touristic purposes rather than for cure. Let me hasten and explain here that Ben Yeffu is not as well reputed and equipped as Bouya Omar. The majority of maraboutic suffering clients as they are observed at the shrine may be properly classified as members of the subaltern groups—small dealers, labourers, sharecroppers, and itinerant sellers—a poor and illiterate segment of the population engaged in daily struggle to squeeze a meagre living. Very few people from the middle social classes (the socio-professional groups) come to the shrine to seek maraboutic cure. As for the elite, hardly any one visits the shrine. During my stay at Ben Yeffu, I was informed about a very special limited number of dignitaries who had visited the shrine either for touristic purposes or looking for traditional cure.

So, invisible jinn eviction at BenYeffu is not related to the question of education and gender. From my observations, it is has strong connection with the patient's worldview and cultural upbringing. Those magically skilled patients—*shurfa* or not—who are deeply implicated in the maraboutic ideology and practice are the ones who are more commonly affected by invisible possession. Those are people who are accustomed to going to saints, attending *ḥadras*, and participating in maraboutic rituals. The examples quoted before are good cases in point. The two social actors are *shurfa* who belong to the Buffi order. They have

grown up in an environment of jinns. The Buffi social environment, as a matter of fact, is indelibly marked by jinn possession. It is the small talk of the day among people. Every day, the *shurfa* gossip about the new cases they have received. This gossiping extends to their families and the *duwars* where they live. Moreover, they are daily exposed to exorcism, and to patients' violence.

They seem to be like psychiatrists who run the risk of getting ill with too much exposure to the mentally sick patients in their profession. To elaborate further on this point, we may argue that the Buffi healers are exposed to scenes of jinn eviction in their early childhood, which influences their worldview. They risk getting sick at an earlier age before growing into experienced jinn evictors. The examples of healers attacked by jinns at an earlier age are numerous. Most healers start learning jinn eviction by participant observation in their childhood and thus run the risk of being possessed. A *sharif* told me that he learned to exorcise when he was a pupil at the Qur'anic School. The *taleb* teacher used to send him and other little *tulba* to fetch the pens (*qluma*, sing. *qlem*) from the *hufdan*. They used to sit on the wall inside the shrine and watch the *hufdan* practice *ṣri'*. That was how they learnt how to do it. The *sharif* who told me that also suffered from jinn possession at an earlier age.

Too much exposure of children to this context of magic may affect their worldview. True, I have observed many Buffi families having children who suffer from mental problems attributed to jinn attacks. The Buffis account for this observable fact by asserting that jinns take revenge from grown-ups on their children. Unable to defeat the healer, they attack his vulnerable children instead.

Like healers, like patients, they all find themselves at the mercy of *jnun*. It seems that the schema of power is unstable. "Jinns" haunting patients may challenge and invert power-relations at any time in their interaction with the *shurfa*. There is no permanency to the cure, no personality change. Like their patients, the *shurfa* re-enact their suffering. Their domination over jinns is regulated by inversion. Both healer and patient depend on the jinns' commands. They interpret their personal conduct with reference to jinns. If something occurs to them, they may say that it results from "a failure to obey the jinn[s'] commands. These arbitrary commands become symbolic masks which may cover the actual moral fault" (Crapanzano, 1973, p. 227). So long as they settle peaceful contracts with jinns, both the *sharif* and the commoner

receive their support and live with them in peace, a temporary peace that may be menaced by the violent return of jinns.

Living under these constant threats, the *shrif* like the commoner think that they must periodically perform rituals of eviction and slaughter to propitiate the jinns' wrath. The schema of domination and submission is inverted. The jinni haunting the patient—that is, the patient in an altered state of consciousness—may reluctantly renounce his powerful identity for a while and assume an attitude of subordination in front of the *shrif* healer but may regain his former subversive power once released from the grip of the saint Ben Yeffu. It seems to be a see-saw game of power-relations between the *shrif* and the “jinni.” The latter may invert the schema of power-relations and contest the legitimate authority of the *shrif* over him once the trial comes to an end. The patient is the most tragic victim in the contest. His life is persecuted by the invisible powers of jinns.

D. *The Paradigm of Servitude (khidma)*

The case study introduced below will display how the mythic court sentence may influence the patient's course of life. It is the story of a suffering patient who is currently living under the saint's protection and cannot leave the vicinity for fear of jinn attack. He is said to be caught by the saint (*mashdud*). He is a prayer-leader (*imam*) at Ben Yeffu. He has been the saint's servant for about thirty-seven years. Now, he is a permanent citizen in the region. He has six children, one girl and five boys; two were born in Casablanca and the rest at Ben Yeffu. His eldest son is now an adult in his forties.

The *imam*'s case shows how the patient's unarticulated conflicts mold into a socially given schema of servitude. As an adept, the *imam* is required to work for Ben Yeffu. He has to work for him in order to receive his *baraka*, and remain healthy and virile. He must work for him as a servant works for his master, or rather as a son works for his father. The Buffi folk poetry reads in this respect: “You, who stand before the *shaykh*, be patient (*ya l-wāqef quddam shaykh kun šabbār*)! Work faithfully to be safe from misfortunes (*khdam b-nniya tenja men l-wzāri*)!” Failure to work for the saint is thus conceived as a loss of *baraka* and a risk of being exposed to jinn attacks because the saint may withhold his guardianship.

At Ben Yeffu, the predominant belief is that the *baraka* of the saint is essential to protect the patient from the everlasting persecution of jinns. Since there are good grounds in society for anxiety and people live in constant fear of actual or potential danger, the shelter of the shrine may always provide an acceptable alternative. It may provide a way of coping with situations of misfortune and of relieving anxiety though it may be a temporary relief. It is also psychologically satisfying in that the patient's wrongdoings are blamed on *jnun*. Thus, the patient is released from the potential burden of guilt towards his failure(s). The story of the *imam* is a series of trials and tribulations showing how *ṣri' al-ghaibi* operates and how the mythic court is held and issues its verdicts. In front of these magic events, the *imam* seems to be unable to live without being released from feelings of inadequacy, weakness, and impotence; psychological burdens that push him to cling to the help of saints and live under their protection.

The mythic court of the saint has sentenced him to stay for life in the vicinity. This sentence made the patient undergo a change in social status, self-image, and social identity. The analysis of the patient's story suggests that if the maraboutic practice may provide the individual with occasions to discharge his hostilities in a socially acceptable manner (paroxysms of possession, trance dance, etc.), it may also enthrall him to devote himself to the service of the saint, reenacting his sufferings periodically. This suggests that there is no permanency to the cure, and the change of the patient's personality is reduced to the reenacting of his suffering.

The Imam's Story

Saturday March 03, 2002, I drove to Ben Yeffu. I was invited to a gathering of Buḥfi *shurfa* including the *imam* of prayers. I went there for the third time to listen to the story of that *imam* who thought he was wedged by the power of Allah at the saint Ben Yeffu.

The *imam* was born in 1940s in a *duwar* called al-Kwash, 6 kilometers from the Ḥasba in Tnin al-Gharbiya and 11 kilometers from Jam'at Shaim in the region of 'Abda. The *imam* spent his childhood and adolescence in the countryside. He learnt the Qur'an at a *jama'* in the *duwar*. In 1958, when he reached his twenties, he moved to Casablanca accompanied by his wife. There he worked as a traditional tailor and

Qur'anic teacher. He also practiced traditional healing (*sbub*) for clients from all walks of life.

In 1966, when he fell sick, he was about 30 years old. On a Wednesday in July in the same year, he consulted a "Nazarene" doctor in Roche Noir in Casablanca; a blood specialist, as he named him. The doctor, as I understood, was a cardiologist. After examining his patient, the doctor gazed at him. Then, he addressed the *imam*'s brother who knew very little French: "*est ce que cette home ne frappe pas les gens* [Doesn't this man beat people]?" The brother was startled by the doctor's remark and answered him that the *imam* fell sick just the day before. The doctor affirmed that the patient's blood pressure reached "42"—meaning that he was in a critical condition. He asked the patient where he felt the pain. The patient pointed with his hand to the upper part of the stomach (*fum l-ma'da*). The doctor gave him some penicillin injections, powder (*ghabra*) and liquid (*ma*) to take. The *imam* said that all that medicine did not work. The third night, Friday night, he felt an atrocious pain. He spent the night walking along Medyuna's road till dawn.

Saturday morning, he visited the saint Ben Yeshu near Casablanca. I asked him why he went there. He replied that if a man became jinn possessed (*maryuh fih marad l-jenn*), he should visit saints. The following day he returned to his own *duwar* in al-Kwash in 'Abda. His brother who accompanied him back home told his mother about the *imam*'s sickness. The mother replied that the *shurfa* were doomed to such fate. Some of them might turn out to be erratic (*majdubs*). Then, the *imam* went to Sidi Ahmed Bumadian, the nearby saint the Kwash claim to descend from. When he went there he felt pain in his back that he compared to a stone you removed from a piled up wall of stones that immediately fell to the ground. He said that the pain became lethal when what he called "*teryab/r'ad*" (the collapse/thunder) went up along his back. Every week he suffered a different form of pain, sometimes going up and other times going down. But the pain never reached his brain; he never lost consciousness. Inside that shrine, a *hfid* trod upon him (*afsu*) and he felt somewhat better.

Still, at that point he did not know the nature of his sickness. So he told himself that he should go to Safi to consult a competent physician about the pain. In August 10, 1966 he went to Safi. That day, he said, he recognized all the corners of the town but he could not recognize where the direction of the east (*qabla*). He asked about the doctor who

would ferret out his case and people in the street recommended him a Nazarene doctor called Dilamu. After examining him, the Arabic-speaking doctor told him that he suffered from cold between skin and bone (*berd bin jeld u-l-ḍam*) and cold in the stomach (*berd f-l-maḍa*).⁶

The doctor gave him seven injections in his back. Every time the doctor injected him, the *imam* went out to sit on a stool and touched his back only to find the medicine dripping out of the injected area in his flesh [an illustration of the idea that jinns do not like injections]. The *imam* seemed to have spent a fortune on his sickness. He paid the doctor for each injection the price of 50 *ryals* while he could do it at the Hilal (the Red Crescent Office) for 10 *ryals*, he said.⁷ He also paid 300 *ryals* for the consultation.

The last day when he had his last injection and was sitting on that stool outside the consulting room, a tall man came in and asked him if the doctor was present. The man wanted to bring his wife to the doctor. He asked the *imam* about his sickness. The latter told him the exact words he heard from the doctor. The man immediately flared up and told the *imam*: “Do you reason or not?” The *imam* was startled and glared at the man. The latter explained: “if this cold is between your skin and bone, it won’t ache you. It aches when it reaches the bones. What you have is simply *l-ryah*. You should not have come to the doctor. You should visit saints (*khaṣṣek t-mshi t-zur*).” I asked him if he knew who the man was. He said: “Yes, I recognized him once he told me that. He was a messenger!”

The same day the *imam* went to Sidi Ahmed Ben ‘Abdjilil in Shiyadma near Sebt Talmast. His wife and other female relatives accompanied him. He had to pay quite a lot for his travel. In Shiyadma, he had to hire a guide and a mule to reach the saint. He rented a room at the saint and spent the first night in peace. After three days, he felt somewhat better. So, he sent away the rest of his relatives and spent again three days with his wife at the shrine. Every day he went to the *shurfa* at the shrine and received their *baruk*. They used a piece of shoe (*farda*) to practice *ṣri* with. They trod upon him (*ʿafsu-h*) for three days. The *shurfa* told him that he had to visit a *hawsh* the day before his departure. He

⁶ Many people in Morocco still use the word ‘*berd*’ to refer to different sorts of infections, like venereal diseases—*berd nbula* [cold in the urinary bladder], and *berd dkar* [cold in the penis] (cf. Manhart, et al., 2000).

⁷ The Hilal is the place where people can go for injection. Yet, there are difficult injections that are not allowed to be done at the Hilal. Only doctors do them.

did as he was told. He went to the *hawsh* where he felt lots of pain in his back. So, he returned to Sidi Ben 'Abdjilil, read some Qur'an by the side of the coffin and returned to his room late at night.

When he got in, three cards on which number three figured (*trusa*) fell down. One card remained hung on a pin on the wall. When his wife heard the noise, she awoke from her sleep. No one was playing cards in the room. The *imam* told her that nothing happened save for those cards that had fallen down. Then, he started explaining to his wife who knew nothing about cards that the two first cards on which number three figured stood for the six days they had spent at the shrine, and that the card that remained hung stood for other three days he had to spend there. Following the prophecy, he spent the remaining three days, and the last day, a *shrif* told him that he should offer the *shurfa* a rooster "to be released" (*bash y- tsayfet*). The *imam* bought the rooster for the *shurfa* who cooked it for dinner and invited him for the meal.

Then, he spent the night in a *qubba* of a nearby saint called Sidi Ahmed Mul l-bit. The *qubba* of Ben 'Abdjilil was reserved for women. When he was sleeping, he saw a Moslem doctor coming to him wearing a white dress. The *imam* asked him: "what do you want? Why are you coming to me?" The doctor told him that he came to examine him. The *imam* flared up: "I have seen the best doctor in Casablanca and he did not discover my sickness, let alone you!" The doctor went away, and a man wearing a *djellaba* came. The *imam* saw a vein in his leg that swelled up. The man saw it and told him that he had to go to Sidi Barek where they struck the vein and "scratched children" (*yefergu fih l-drari*). The *imam* did not know where the saint was. The man offered to show him the saint. They went to the shrine, entered the *qubba* and found Sidi Barek sitting with stretched legs. The man told the *imam* there was Sidi Barek who struck the vein and undid the children's spell. Sidi Barek moved his body forward, glanced at the vein and returned to his initial position. When they were about to go out a woman appeared to the *imam* from the corner of the *darih* and talked to him. "If you strike that vein, you'll bleed to death!" She told him. He replied: "look! Dead or alive, I'll strike the vein!" Then the *imam* and his companion moved out. On their way to the door, a man was getting into the *darih*. Instead of getting in before them or waiting for them to go out, he collided with them. The *imam* found himself sandwiched between the two at the door. At that point he awoke from his dream.

It was nearly dawn when he went to a nearby river and did his ablutions. Then he went to the *jama'* for prayers. Later, he came across a

man who lived in the nearby village and asked him about Sidi Barek. The man told him that there was no saint in the vicinity with that name. Then he went back to his room and asked the landlord about the saint. The man answered: "The saint is sending you there. He usually does it. Sidi Barek is exactly at Berrakt Lamin. Pack up and leave!" The *imam* packed up and left.

On his way along the riverside he met a boy on a donkey. The boy realized that the man was sick and offered to help him. So, he asked him: "are you a *fqih*?" the *imam* replied, "yes!" Then, the boy asked him: "have you learnt the Qur'an by heart?" The *imam* replied in humbleness: "a little bit!" The boy offered him his mount. The *imam* requested his wife to get on the animal first but she refused. She told him since he was sick he should ride. They carried on their way till they reached a small village. The boy told the *fqih* that they reached their destination and he had to shackle his donkey there. The *imam* thanked the boy, took off his belongings and walked away. Few yards he saw a man standing in the middle of the road holding a white piece of cloth and waving to him. The *imam* hurried and then heard the man telling him: "are you the man who wants to go to Sidi Barek!" the *imam* said: "yes!" The man told him: "hurry up! There are still fifteen minutes until the bus passes by!" He took him to a bus stop and told him to wait there. The *imam* left his wife there and went to buy some bread, sugar and tea in case there were no shops at Sidi Barek. A few minutes later, he returned to find the bus. He boarded with his wife. At Sidi Barek, he stayed for a week after which he felt better.

Then he went back to Casablanca; after sometime, he fell ill again. The *imam* spoke about a terrible experience marked by roaming in streets overnight. The very hood of his *djellaba* was wresting by itself that night. He had to go back to Sidi Barek to spend a month there, after which he felt somewhat better. During his stay at the shrine, he learnt about the nature of his sickness. There was a man there who was jinn possessed (*meryuh*), haunted by seven air *jnun* (*l-riyah*). During his fits, he betrayed the secret deeds of all to the saint. If someone stole a candle, he would tell. Once he fell down, the voice haunting him told the *imam*: "this man who gets in and reads (the Qur'an) and gets out and reads does not know what has happened to him. The cause is those letters that he has been working with without a sacred permission (*idn*). He could not ferret them out. Those living things in the *taleb* have to leave him in peace; otherwise I will blow over them and throw them to the sea." That was epiphany for the *imam*.

After that event, his wife, who was told that there was a *hkaimi* (exorciser) in Safi, asked her husband to go and see the *taleb*. The *imam* replied that no *taleb* could cure him because he was himself a *taleb*. He said that he knew all the formulas and rituals practiced by *tulba*. He told her only a saint or *shrif* descended from a holy lineage could cure him, but a *taleb* could not do anything in his case.⁸ His relatives told him that he had to try instead of just staying at the saint in vain. He was plagued by their insistent inducement and decided to go with them.

He discovered that the *taleb* was a fortune-teller (*shuwaf*). He had a room painted black on the inside and outside. One of the *shurfu* commented on the colour saying that he was working by the mediation of Mimoun (*haq* Mimoun). Once the curer entered, the *imam* felt that there was no result. The *imam*'s relatives did not tell the curer before hand that the patient was also a *taleb*. The curer used elementary methods to invoke *jnun* that the *imam* already knew about. He had an iron slipper (*bligha dyal l-hdid*) and a stick (*zellag*). When he started the healing practice (*sbub*), he did some fumigation and struck the *bligha* (slipper) against the *zellag* (stick). At that point, the *imam* spoke soundlessly: "do anything if you can, but these things I already know about." The *imam* said that the *shuwaf* was saying incantations like: "By the power of Harrasin and Karrasin, of the great treasure, of the complete word, of the burning spectres and shooting star, there is no saviour except for the closer responsive [Allah]."⁹ The *imam* was saying all those expressions in jest. He just lowered his head in front of the *shuwaf* and waited for him to finish because he knew all those formulas (cf. Roqiya and Khadija's case of failure of response to the healer in section B above). Once the *shuwaf* recognized that the patient was a *taleb* he ceased his magical work.

After spending two days in Safi, the *imam* returned to Casablanca. It was a Tuesday when he arrived. He was fine until Friday afternoon prayer when his pain recurred. He was told to visit Sidi Ahmed al-Bahlul. He did visit it but kept suffering until Ramadan. The pain would only dissipate through continuous recitation from the Qur'an.

⁸ Compare this to Roqiya's refusal to put her case within the realm of possession. As I said before, the shared worldview of the participants is an essential constituent in the process of cure.

⁹ The Arabic version reads as follows: *bihaqqi harrasin wa karrasin/wa bi-l-kanzi l-'adhim/wa bi al-kalimati ttamati/wa l-'ajabi al-muhriqati/wa shshihabi thaqibi/laysa mughitun siwa qaribun mujib.*

“What made me dull of soul,” he said, “was that I spent 350 dh. and 200 kilograms of corn in a week; I was saying: ‘This functions! This works’ (*hada ydir/hada yeqdi*).” He spent all his money consulting *tulba*. Someone, he said, gave his wife a black beetle (*bakhusht l-buwala*), told her to put it in an envelope with some corn flour, and hang it inside the house. He told her that when the insect had eaten all the flour, it would die and, with its death, the sickness would dissipate. His hardship would go on with a *taleb* who asked him to bring him a rooster with a comb (*nuna*) made of seven stripes (*sharṭat*). That’s a strong rooster. A *shrif* among the audience told us he wanted the rooster to feed his family. There was laughter! The *imam* said that that *taleb* grew rich and got a secretary and made medical files for his patients with the money they owe him. But recently he had got what he deserved. He was sentenced to one year in jail for such machinations. The *imam* never gave him anything. He bid farewell to the shanty towns of Casablanca and returned home once for all very sick.

He visited his sick father and went to the local saint in the *duwar*, Sidi Ahmed Bumadian. His uncle told him “go to your grand-father, he will either solve your problem (*y-qḍi lik gharadek*), or send you to where your problem can be solved.” A *shrif* commented on that and said: “it was a permission (*idn*) that was given to him.” The *imam* rode his donkey every night and went to the shrine. He usually arrived by dusk prayer, prayed there, read the Qur’an, and prayed the *‘isha* and slept. Six nights he spent there. The night before last he saw in a dream a fantasia (*tburida*) near the shrine. Two knights in a white dress came on white horses to him. He was saying blessed be Allah (*tbarek Allah*), when they stopped before him. One said to the other: “it is his turn (*nuba fi hada*).” The *imam* replied: “I can mount the horse and ride it. But I do not know how to fire a rifle!” He awoke from his dream. The following night, he dreamt he was walking towards the shrine when he saw a woman following him and a tall man wearing an ash-colored *djellaba* under a white *djellaba* and had a red face. He called him: “be quick! We are gathering at Sidi ‘Abdelaziz (*zid, zid ra hna majmu’in* ‘and Sidi ‘Abdelaziz).” He saw a peach (*khukha*) tree and got up. He understood the message. He went to his mother the following day and told her he wanted to visit Ben Yeffu. She told him to tell that to his father. When he entered his father’s room, he found him very sick indeed. He informed him that he was going to Ben Yeffu. Then, his father told him: “Greet al-Fadili and Si Dihaj on my behalf! Greet Sidi Ahmed Ben Derqawi and Tahra. We are all travellers! Good-bye! I love you more

because you have always tried to unite your brothers. You are going to Ben Yeffu and you will be well.” His father was bidding farewell to him. The *imam* went out. He talked to his mother who insisted that he should see Hasana, the famous fortune-teller in l-Khmis. Though he told his mother that Hasana would do nothing for him, she replied that she would give him the money to go and see her.

He went to see Hasana on February 1, 1967. He entered the room and sat down. He gave her the *fluḥ* (3 dh. at the time) and the egg he took with him. She immersed the egg in water, took it out, and let fall a drop of water from its shell on the back of the *imam*’s hand. Then she told him:

Hasana: You have an uncle; he has a friend called Sidi Mohammed.

Imam: Yes,

Hasana: it is him who did you *sihr*. It is buried at the door of your *jama*’ in Casablanca.

Imam: I don’t have any problems with him.

Hasana: Envy!

Imam: Allah pays back everyone.

Hasana: You are very ill, six months and this is the seventh.

Imam: Exactly!

Hasana: You have gone to many saints! When people look at you they say you are not sick, but the skin is white and what is under it is black. Do you know what sickness you have?

Imam: If I did know I would not come.

Hasana: There is a woman who appears to you! And you see her!

Imam: I know this!

Hasana: If I send you to a place, would you go to it?

He had already taken his own decision. So if she would say to him to go to a place different from the one he saw in his last vision, he would ignore her words. For him the vision was a call to go to Ben Yeffu in particular. But Hasana confirmed his vision and advised him to go to the same saint.

Hasana: You are going to go to Ben Yeffu! But till you are called! And you will visit Sidi Omar al-Qadmiri in Zyayda in Casablanca!

It was Saturday, February 4, 1967, when the *imam* took the bus to Ben Yeffu. When he arrived there, he found it the turn (*nuba*) of l-Ghlamat. The first night the *marḍ* (pain) that caught him there he had never felt before. It attacked him at 1:30 after midnight. This has been the usual time for it to show up ever since, though with very feeble pain. He saw a vision (*manama*): a woman’s hand crept along his body, held his penis

tightly and squeezed it with all its force. The *imam* found it difficult to breathe during that scene; he was in mortal pain. Afterwards, such pain never returned. Another time (15 days after), he saw another vision: bees stinging a woman, some children came as if to save the woman but the *imam* chased them away. Then when the bees completed their task, the woman attacked the *taleb* and struck him on his shoulders while he was shouting to her that he was not the person who was stinging her. After that vision the sickness began to decline. The *imam* gave a calendar of the occurrence of his sickness:

Table 9. The Calendar of the Occurrence of the Sickness

Stage	First Stage	Second Stage	Third Stage	Fourth Stage
Sickness Occurrence	Once every 3 days	Once a week/ Once 2 weeks	Once a month/ Once 3 months/ Once 6 months	Once a year/ Once 2 years/ Once 3 years

Thanks to those dreams the *imam* was certain that he was haunted by a *jenniya* who wanted to marry him. The most crucial dream was when he saw himself together with her and her parents at a law court (*sri 'al-ghaibi*). Her father made him learn the speech he was to tell the judge and did the same thing with his daughter. But when the judge came, the father spoke on their behalf. The judge replied: "the man you brought me to this court is not permitted to marry. He is a father of six children and finds it very hard to meet their needs." At the time the *imam* was poor, but did not yet have six children. The *imam* intended to find another court in order to marry the *jenniya* but the judge told him: "if you go to another court, you will hear the same verdict." That was her last intimacy with him.

He wanted to stay just three days at Ben Yeffu. The *shrif* he met, Si Kerroum, told him that his illness was deep-rooted. The *imam* hated him saying it that way. Of course he stayed far beyond those three days. After five months, he brought his children and founded a home there. Why? During daylight, he could go wherever he wanted, but during the night, he had to sleep within Ben Yeffu's vicinity. The sacred premises of the sultan gave him protection from any jinn assault since

he was under the custody of one of the *shurfa*, Mulay Taher. That *shrif* exorcised him daily for a month. One day, Mulay Taher met the *imam*, who was at the time an ordinary patient at the saint, and told him about a secret:

“I saw in a dream that the *shurfa* were gathering at the *nhira* (slaughter place) and one of them was saying that the present *taleb* Bel ‘Abdi was no longer teaching at the *jama’*. ‘Oulad Ben Yeffu,’ he told them, ‘you need a new *taleb*!’ Then two men brought you (the *imam*) to the gathering and told the audience: ‘we have brought you a *taleb* if you want one.’ All the people in the *nhira* applauded the choice and went away.”

Mulay Taher addressed the *imam* and told him: “It’s possible, my son, that the men of the land have decided you should stay with us (*nta waldi rubbama rijal l-blad ghadi y-hakmu ‘lik tbqa hna*).” The *imam* listened to those words in tears because he wanted to go home. The *shrif* told him that if the host could provide for the guest, he would retain him, if not, he would let him go. The men of the land decreed his stay at Ben Yeffu. In one of the cells at the shrine, he stayed with his family for four years making his living tailoring *djellabas*. When Bel ‘Abdi died, Mulay Taher came to fulfill the dream he had seen. He addressed Oulad Ben Yeffu with the following speech:

“Sons of Ben Yeffu! The *taleb* Bel ‘Abdi died, may Allah bless his soul! His wife may stay with us. If she wants to keep here occupying her husband’s house, we will provide for her! As for the new *taleb* who will take over the responsibility of the *jama’*, this is him!”

He pointed to the *imam*. Every body agreed—because Mulay Taher’s word was respected at the time. At last the *imam* settled at Ben Yeffu. Now he is one of the most noted cases of patients said to be caught by the saint. He has six children (one girl and five boys), two were born in Casablanca and the rest at Ben Yeffu.

The story of the *imam* is a vivid example referring to the absence of a standard system of therapy in Morocco. The *imam* has recourse to all types of therapy, from *tulba*, doctors to saints. In his journey he is guided by heresy, dreams, prophesies and omens. Because of his experience as a *fqih*, he is skilled in interpreting dreams, signs, and prophesies. His maraboutic knowledge has induced him to refute medical therapy and the *taleb*’s talismans and amulets, and opt for the *baraka* of saints. As a *shrif* and *taleb*, he shares his worldview with *shurfa*. His experience has taught him that ordinary visible mortal powers do not have the capacity to cure him, a reason why he imagines saintly superpowers able to offer him remedy. In his quest for cure, he embarks on a journey

resembling that of legendary heroes—such as Gilgamesh—looking for elixirs. Thus, he undergoes a series of invisible trials (*sri' al-ghaibi*), being cured by immortal secret powers epitomized by the *baraka* of saints.¹⁰ It seems that the patient's worldview plays an essential role in choosing the therapy to use.

Although the symptoms of sickness play a major role in the choice of therapy, the patient in our society relies on other factors of greater importance. These determine which therapy to use since several different therapies are believed to be efficacious. These factors may include the story of the patient's sickness (how it happened), the availability of a doctor, the cost of therapy,¹¹ the relationship the patient, his family or friends have with various practitioners, the past experiences of cure the patient and his family have, the advice given by friends, neighbours and colleagues, the predictions given by diviners (*shuwafas*), the famous reputation of a particular practitioner, a particular therapy, or a particular shrine in the patient's region, the strong devotion to a saint or brotherhood, and the seriousness or urgency of the sickness. They influence the patient's worldview. "The wide range of options leaves considerable room for unconscious as well as conscious factors in the choice of cure" (Crapanzano, 1973, p. 134). Furthermore, in our popular culture, as in other popular cultures, there exists no systematic pathology of sickness. Much of our population doesn't distinguish between organic and non-organic sicknesses. Their conceptions of the causes of sickness are amalgams of popular folk beliefs, naturalistic and "supernatural"¹² explanations that vary from city to city, from tribe to tribe and even from family to family.

The story of the *imam* displays the low status of western medical therapy in Morocco. The belief in traditional healing runs so deep in

¹⁰ People who are highly exposed to maraboutic symbols and practices believe that they can only be cured by invisible superpowers like saints. They regard healers as their equals, having similar powers. And if possessed, they may experience invisible jinn eviction (*sri' al-ghaibi*) without the healers' intervention.

¹¹ Howell (1970) says that in North Africa and the Middle East, pilgrimages to saints and recourse to traditional therapy are chosen because they are far cheaper than Western therapies.

¹² The word "supernatural" is part of a western dichotomy that may not apply to Moroccan culture in which the so-called "supernatural" is part of daily experience. As Beattie puts it: "Most peoples do not dichotomise the universe into two distinct and mutually exclusive spheres labelled 'natural' and 'supernatural', as Westerners do, although they often dichotomise it in other ways, and they can distinguish different kinds of causal agents in the world they live in" (1964, p. 203).

Moroccan society today that it has been one of the most important factors that has impeded the advance of western medical therapy, especially in the realm of mental disorders that pertain exclusively to the specialty of saints. It is, therefore, not surprising that lots of doctors address their patients in tangible forms of expression and use traditional healing vocabularies in order to establish contact with their average patients. Take the example of Dilamu who says to the *imam* that he suffers from “cold between skin and bone.” Dilamu is aware that communication with Moroccan patients requires a shared worldview between curer and patient. If he does not address patients in their own familiar curative concepts, they will fail to respond positively. In fact, Moroccans have local terms for their own sicknesses, terms related to their own magical beliefs. If doctors do not use these terms, they may find it very difficult to make themselves understood by their patients. The average Moroccan, for instance, recognizes *buṣafir* (jaundice) easily and may even suggest a traditional recipe of cure for it. He recognizes the sickness because it has tangible symptoms like the yellowing of the skin. But if a doctor tells him that he has hepatitis or any other liver disease, he will hardly understand what the doctor says. I have observed some doctors explaining to their average patients that they were attacked by *buṣafir* and they needed blood tests. The doctors were aware that they suspected a hepatitis attack but they explained the sickness in traditional healing terminology so as to be understood by their patients. Still, doctors seem to be estranged from their patients because their medical practice and their developed technology deny the average Moroccan his tangible religious and cultural symbols (like the belief in spirits and saints) that may be regarded as expressions of his Moroccan identity.

Traditional popular beliefs do not only have a strong foothold in Moroccan culture and represent a cultural common ground but may also convey prejudices against some specific social groups. For instance, men’s negative representation of women extends to the area of illness. There is a male-oriented social representation of women in our society that they are bearers of venereal diseases and a source of contamination, a chauvinistic attitude inspired by the patriarchal heritage of the past. As Manhart, Dialmy, Ryan, Caroline and Mahjour put it:

The term *berd* [associated with venereal diseases] sometimes represents a shortened version of *berd dyal la ṣyalatte* (“cold of women”), implying that the disease has its root in women.... While it is believed that men can get *berd* because of exposure to cold, they are not subject to the same

consequences for subsequently transmitting the illness. The corresponding term *berd d'yal rjal* ("cold of men") does not exist. (2000, p. 1374)

Culturally speaking, the term "cold of women" expresses a societal bias against women who occupy an inferior position in our patriarchal social fabric. They are thought to bear sexual transmissible diseases and thus scapegoated as others threatening the male population with contamination. This biased view is unfortunately interiorized by some women themselves who accept it against their best interests.

Another aspect that shows unequivocally the strength of popular religious beliefs in Moroccan society is Westermarck's unrivalled account of the world of *jnun*. In many parts of Morocco, he maintains, Moroccans used to believe that all sicknesses starting with *bu* indicated that a tribe of jinns was responsible for their occurrences. *Buṣafir* (jaundice) referred to the name of jinns responsible for the spread of the sickness. *Buḥamrun* (measles) was believed to be caused by *jnun* belonging to the tribe of Oulad Ben Lahmar mentioned previously. *Buṣalum* (sciatica), *buglib* (cholera), *bumazwi* (intestinal sickness), *bughaṭaṭ* or *butalis* (nightmarish sleep), *bushwik* (red spots on the skin), *bu'ninj/bushniniq* (semi-paralysis of shoulder articulation)...all those *bus* referred to tribes of jinns held responsible for the spread of such sicknesses (Westermarck, 1926). For instance, when cholera invaded Morocco in 1895, Moroccans believed that an army of *jnun* had taken hold of the country. As Westermarck argues,

When the cholera was in Morocco in 1895, the people believed an army of *jnun* had overrun the country. Where the epidemic was very violent, they were supposed to have pitched their tents inside the town wall; whereas the occurrence of a few cases only indicated that they were camping outside the town, and now and then made a hit with their poisoned arrows. I was told at Tetwan that those who died were followed to the grave by an unusually large number of people because, when a dead man was buried, the enemy at once looked out for another victim and let his arrow fly among the crowd at the grave—hence the bigger the crowd, the less the individual risk. (1926, p. 271)

Despite the social modernization Moroccan society has undergone since the time Westermarck undertook his research, the magic worldview and maraboutic discourse still remain very strong, especially in rural regions where social change is having a slow-moving tempo. At present, not all people may conceive of illness in the form of a conquest by *jnun* but lots of them use the expressions mentioned above, and believe that illnesses may result from the cast of the evil eye. Some may stay home and be contented with herbal and magical brews if attacked by

a sickness. Others may prefer to go to see a *fqih* specialized in writing talismans and giving incense, or may prefer to go to see a *shrif* or the *zawiya* he belongs to (Crapanzano, 1973, p. 134). The choice of going to see a doctor may be kept as a last choice, especially in the countryside—the region under study—where people cannot afford the higher costs of modern medicine and thus may go to the hospital in critical conditions, exhausted of strength.

In his quest for cure, the *imam* has relied on his magic worldview to give power to some cultural symbols. He journeyed from saint to saint guided by prophecies, dreams and what people term at Bouya Omar *n̄tiq* (“the call of the saint”). Naamouni refers to *n̄tiq* as another way that confirms the patient’s possession and the need of the interference of the saint to cure it. The patient may have a dream during which he is summoned to Bouya Omar, or may pronounce during his trance the name of the saint “*in̄laq bi Bouya Omar*.” *N̄tiq*, as Naamouni puts it,

est une évocation subjective de la possession [qui] semble en quelque sorte imposée par la logique des croyances populaires qui soutiennent qu’un jugement rendu par le saint peut seul résoudre le trouble du patient. . . . Le n̄tiq est considéré par l’entourage comme un signe indiscutable, permettant à lui seul tous les espoirs de guérison qu’offre le recours au saint. En l’occurrence, si un malade n’invoque pas Bouya Omar pendant la transe, c’est que sa maladie ne relève pas de l’intervention judiciaire de Bouya Omar. (1995, pp. 112–13)

The term *n̄tiq* is not customarily used at Ben Yeffu. It is rather known under the expression “*wqaf ‘lih siyyed*” (the saint appeared to him either in person or under a guise and called him to his sanctuary). This appears to be different from *n̄tiq* because it takes place in a dream. At Ben Yeffu, the saint’s mythic call is regarded as an affirmative sign of possession and the patient does not have to decline the call; otherwise a misfortune may befall him. For that reason, someone who falls sick and has a dream in which the saint appears to him in person and summons him to his shrine, s/he immediately fulfils the vision. Sometimes, it is one of the patient’s relatives who has the revelatory dream and thus the relatives persuade the patient to go to Ben Yeffu. Sometimes it is the symbolic interpretation of the dream by a *fqih* or any other person that may guide patients to Ben Yeffu. For instance, if somebody with the name of ‘Abdelaziz, or a knight on horseback holding a spear, appears to the patient in a dream, it is interpreted as a call from Ben Yeffu to go to his shrine and receive his *baraka* of cure.

Similarly, the *imam* was summoned to Ben Yeffu by two revelatory dreams. In one of them, the *imam* saw two knights on horseback holding

rifles, and inviting him to take a rifle and charge. For him, the image in the dream evokes the heart-stopping fantasia or cavalcade that takes place at Ben Yeffu each *moussem* (for the second dream, see the analysis below). Before having such decisive dreams, the *imam* met a lot of evocative symbols in his quest for cure. A man of a taller size came to him at Dilamu's waiting room, and reprimanded him for seeing the doctor. He explained to him that if the cold (*berd*) was between the skin and bone, it would not ache; it would ache only if it reached the bones. The conclusion the man drew from the explanation was that the *imam* suffered from *l-ryah*. Thus, he induced him to go and visit saints. The *imam* regarded the man as a messenger sent to him by the invisible secret powers. He abandoned the medical treatment and traveled to Sidi Ahmed Ben 'Abdjilil. He traveled the same day he encountered the so-called messenger.

The *imam* seems to have profoundly interiorized magical beliefs and practices by virtue of his experience as a *fqih*. His maraboutic knowledge enables him to interpret the least magical sign he encounters on his errand for cure. At Sidi 'Abdjilil, three cards on which number three figured fell down in the room but one of them kept hanging on a nail. The *imam* interpreted that as a signal using a simple analogy built on the erroneous conviction that the numbers that existed on the cards were equivalent to the number of days he was required to stay at the shrine ($3 \times 3 = 9$). On his last day at the shrine, the *imam* had a dream in which a herald summoned him to go to Sidi Barek. His journey to that saint was lubricated by means of helpers including the boy who offered him a donkey, and the man who showed him the way to the bus. At Sidi Barek, he discovered his sickness. A "jinni" revealed to him his sickness and the cause of it. He told him that he had practiced *shub* without permission and thus got jinn possessed. Back home, he was advised by his uncle. He told him: "go to your grand-father Sidi Ahmed Bumadian, he will either solve your problem, or send you where your problem will be solved." He also interpreted that as a permission (*idn*) to go back to his grandfather's shrine.

At his grandfather's shrine, he also had a revelation (*ntiq*). He dreamt of an old man with a white beard and dressed in white calling him to join the gathering at Ben Yeffu. A notorious *shuwafa* in Doukkala region, Hasana, also revealed to him that his cure would be fulfilled at the same saint. There, his pain remitted. And there, he was sentenced by the mythic court through a prophetic dream vision to spend the rest of his life. The sentence was formulated by a herald, a respectable *shrif* who

revealed to him the secret of his vision. He told him that he saw in a dream that the *shurfa* were gathering at the *nhira* (slaughter place) and one of them was saying that the present *taleb* Bel 'Abdi was no longer teaching at the *jama'*. "Oulad Ben Yeffu," he told them, "you need a new *taleb*!" Then two men brought the *imam* to the gathering and told them: "we have brought you a *taleb* if you want one." All the people in the *nhira* applauded the choice and went away. The *shrif* regarded the dream as a verdict of the masters of the land. The *imam* was sentenced to remain under the protection of the saint. In tears, the *imam* listened to his sentence: "He is to be the *imam* of the *jama'* and serve Oulad Ben Yeffu forever."

The tears the *imam* sheds on hearing his own verdict show to what extent he vehemently trusts the spiritual powers of saints. The *imam* snubs *fqihs* and doctors, and legitimates the capacity of *shurfa* to cure him. He himself has practiced the occupation of a *fqih* healer and is aware of it as outright deceit. For him, the *shrif*, who belongs to a deep-seated tradition of cure, is the only one who can find solutions to his health troubles. The *imam* prostrates himself before the *shurfa* to strike him with their sacred slippers or tread upon him with their holy feet. He submits to the final authority of saints. For him, these, unlike doctors, are thought to derive their powers from the ultimate source of the cosmos, Allah. And it is He who is believed to have endowed them with His power to cure the sick and the distressed.

Throughout his journey, the *imam* has not taken any initiative. He does not make any decisions for himself. He relies on heralds, prophecies and omens to guide him in his journey. He believes in the distributing centers (saints) to put him on the right path. His personality is weakened, if not bereaved of any volition to act. He attributes the course of his actions to *jnun*, anonymous agents who are working to destroy his destiny. He uses a lot of agentless passive constructions obscuring his relationship with his actions. This information structure of the story attributes agency to other social actors like saints, jinns, and prophecies, and represents the *imam* as a passive recipient of his actions. During his narration, he keeps saying "*gal liya*" (told me), "*saiftni*" (sent me), "*wqaf liya*" (appeared to me in a dream) "*gra'ni*" (exorcised me). The agency involved in these processes refers to saints, fortune-tellers, heralds, and removes the *imam*'s responsibility for his own deeds. He thinks that he needs the protection of a charisma in order to survive in peace. Thus he becomes a devotee to the saint Ben Yeffu.

The *imam* is an average Moroccan who belongs to a society under a long-established influence of the belief in the supreme leader who can play the role of the protective Father and immunize it against the threat of dispersion. Like in the legend of the Black Sultan, the saint Ben Yeffu is this leader who fought against the oppressive Sultan and his army, relying on his own powers. His community watched his feat of strength from a far, a passive community of spectators that depends on the leader to act on its behalf. It devotes itself to him and believes in his capacity to realize its wishes and cater for its needs. The saint embodies the absolute power that characterizes the parents who can make all their child's dreams come true. The community assuming the role of the child leans on the saint for utmost protection, a reliance that seems to be self-abnegating.¹³

The story of the *imam* also brings the reader face-to-face with the enigma of jinns. These invisible beings haunt the Moroccan popular imagination as being responsible for the seemingly causeless incidents that occur in people's lives. Jinns are held responsible for patients' deterioration of health, trade, marriage, studies, and all sorts of social and economic activities (Crapanzano, 1973; Hijazi, 1986; Naamouni, 1995). Rituals and beliefs are spread among the population to shield them from the jinns' harm and propitiate their wrath (Westermarck, 1926, chap. 5, pp. 302–65). The alibi of the jinni's guilt for one's state of decline may be regarded as a trouble-free way-out of the dilemma of being accountable for one's deeds. Jinn alibis proliferate among the subaltern groups, the members of which are not literate enough to recognize the psychological aspects of the problem. They are ready to blame the individual's mental crisis on jinns and absolve him and his entourage of any responsibility towards his crisis (Hijazi, 1986).

The Egyptian author Taha Husain in *shajarat al-Bu's* [*The Tree of Misery*] narrates the story of a man who was forced by his parents and the *shaykh* of the village to marry an ugly woman. Though the

¹³ Ben Yeffu is not an isolated case in the culture of the Arabs. It seems that our societies are constructed around the concept of spiritual leadership. The history of the Arabs shows that the cultural foundations of their political power are built on the *za'im* (leader)-followers (*athā'*) paradigm, starting from the rule of caliphs to the reign of princes and kings nowadays. Despite the global democratization process introduced worldwide, our societies are still lingering under the protection of spiritual leaders or their descendents. It appears that these societies' political and cultural structures still require the ideological survivals of authoritarianism in order to achieve social cohesiveness.

man was coerced to accept the decision of the *shaykh* and the father, he could not consort with the woman, so he abused her. After some time, the woman could not endure her husband's neglect and harsh treatment and fell into delirium. The *shaykh* and the family who had conspired to impose on the couple that bond found an easy explanation to the problem. They assumed that a neighbor sorcerer cast evil spells on the married woman who therefore became jinn possessed. By opting for this explanation, the family veils its responsibility for the woman's plight. Additionally, the alibi of jinn possession obfuscates the parents' exploitation of their children, choosing for them conjugal partners, and obscures the husband's ill-treatment of his wife. As a result, the woman succumbs to her fate without complaint (cit. in Hijazi, 1986, pp. 153–4).

To apply a similar reading to the story of the *imam*, we may suggest that Hasana's magical explanation absolves the man of his guilt towards his own psychological problem. That there is an envious person who harms him through sorcery is an artful way of describing the problem in a male-dominated society. It is an alibi veiling the social problems the *fqiḥ* suffers from. The *jenniya* that appears to him and threatens him with castration may be an unconscious symbol of his anxiety to live up to the ideals of male dominance and virility. From the tribe to Casablanca's shanty towns where the pressures of modern living are very heavy, from tribal solidarity to urban anonymity, the *imam* finds it is very difficult to perform tasks society requires of the male. His occupations, a Qur'anic teacher, traditional male dress tailor and healer, hardly enable him to meet his family's demands and virility standards. His illness is associated with impotency. This feeling of inadequacy and weakness embodied by the sexual threat of the *jenniya* in the dream shows the *imam*'s inability to cope with pressures of modern living that put heavy requirements on the male who purveys for the needs of the family within a patriarchal social order.

Back to a rural environment where the tempo of living is very slow and the social conditions resemble those of his social upbringing, the *imam* does not find any problems to adjust himself to this social context. From a sick feeble patient, he climbs the social ladder to reach the position of the *imam* in both mosques at Ben Yeffu. This personal achievement could have restored his confidence in his own capacities had his magical beliefs and feeble personality not thwarted him with the illusion that it was the saint who elevated him to that social rank. He is unable to realize that his obsequious submission to the *shurfa* as

a patient despite his being a qualified *taleb* makes some of them sympathize with his case and even dream of keeping him in the vicinity as their own children's Qur'anic teacher. From this, it may be argued that metaphors of masculinity in the text are constitutive of the *imam*'s identity and form powerful ways of his thinking about the world.

The story of the *imam* also shows us how average Moroccans may spend the little they own on the hope to redeem their dismal social conditions. Apart from consulting the *shurfa* who belong to a perennial socially legitimate tradition of cure, some Moroccans consult sorcerers who may rob them of their savings. These fraudulent charlatans usually wreath their practices in a religious mystic atmosphere to give themselves legitimacy and entice supplicants to submit to their requirements. Let me hasten and explain here that Dow (1986) and Moerman (1979), (1983) maintain that "the line between what might be termed 'legitimate' and 'non-legitimate' healers becomes blurred; even a healer who uses outright deceit may nevertheless effect a healing if the patient is unaware of the deception and harbors a belief in the healing abilities of the doctor" (cit. in Waldram, 2000, p. 605). So far as healers manipulate the healing symbols and rituals, they may affect a deceptively 'positive' cure. Thus, patients may fall victim of fraud. I have observed clients offering their belongings, clothes and furniture to traditional healers in their quest for cure. In short, maraboutic clients may not only be drilled to submit to the power of the *sharif* and the system of authority he represents but may also be naively exposed to all sorts of fraud with acquiescence. They may regress to a state of surrender to mystical powers, which may blinker their capacity to discern instances of fraud.

All in all, the mythic court at Ben Yeffu may sentence its suitors to be devotees of the Buffi order for life. This sentence may also compel some patients to stay at the shrine forever. It endows them with a new social status and prompts them to evolve a strong dependency on the saint. They may enlarge their social network by developing dyadic relationships with other patients and Buffi healers. Their small talk may revolve round the shrine and its affairs. Their explanation of sickness may follow the Buffi healing perspective. The maraboutic social group to which they belong may assist them in their explanation of dreams. The jinni or healer's commands may regulate their conduct. As for those who are attached to the saint but can live in their original homes far from the saint or those who are released, they may annually come to the shrine to perform the ritual of sacrifice and renew

their covenant of servitude to the saint. If they decline, they may fall sick again. Most of the saint's devotees come to the shrine during the *mousseem* and revive their social relationships with healers and patients. They are drilled into reinforcing the maraboutic self-image of themselves, and as I have observed at the shrine, they are skilled maraboutic patients who ritually fall in fits of possession, organize *ḥaḍras*, perform weekly rituals of fumigation, travel from saint to saint, from *mousseem* to *mouseem* and frequently consult *ṭulba* and fortune tellers. Their yearly calendar is replete with magical practices and rituals. It seems that they are destined to linger in their opiate trance and may never take cognizance of the fact that there is no permanency to the cure save for their re-enactment of their servitude to the saint, his descendents and all types of impostors.

CONCLUSION

As a final point, Ben Yeffu resembles the prison institution Foucault delineated in *Discipline and Punish*. “The human body [is] entering a machinery of power that explores it breaks it down and rearranges it” (1977, p. 138). The maraboutic discipline reproduces docile subjects who display the most abject forms of submission in front of power symbols. They are drilled into kissing heads and hands, bowing or prostrating themselves on the ground in submission to the saint, and murmuring their wishes in silence. They are also drilled in being patient, acquiescent and unrelenting in their faith in the power of distributing centres of *baraka*. It is a technique of *dressage* that excludes every sign of indocility (p. 166). After being exorcised, the patients begin to obey whatever they are ordered to do; their obedience seems to be prompt and blind. By the end of the process of jinn eviction, patients undergo an emotional collapse, a state of catharsis. They discharge their accumulated hostilities and traumatic experiences. At this point, the healers or the maraboutic group as a whole may instil in them their own collectively shared beliefs and values.

At the maraboutic institution, jinn eviction is the most common means of behaviour control. Every misconduct or moral default is attributed to jinns. If people fail in marriage, trade, exams, or employment, they are thought to be jinn possessed. They are not liable to blame. Very little guilt appears to occur. The individual and the collective are set free from accountability. Shame and disgrace are inflicted upon the jinni who assaults the innocuous individual. The stereotype of the jinni resembles the goat that is symbolically burdened with the sins of the Jewish people and sent to die in the wilderness to cleanse the Hebrew nation of its iniquities. The burden of shame is also thrust upon some stereotypical figures living in the individual’s environment and thought to threaten the coalition of his family by casting upon it the evil eye or charming it with magic spells. These figures are usually blamed for being the inciters of jinn attacks.

So, saint-goers take it for-granted that jinns have the capacity to ruin their lives, which, accordingly, obscures the relationship between the State’s political and economic choices and the social malaise the individual endures. No institution in society, be it the family, the school, or

the government, is held (at least partly) responsible for the individual's failure. Even the individual himself is exempt from being accountable for his own deeds. There always appears to be a jinni haunting him and controlling his actions, a jinni that must be evicted if the individual is to regain self-control. In short, this discourse that works by image, habit, symbol, ritual and myth represents an extremely effective form of ideological control.¹

The effectiveness of this control is enhanced by the success of maraboutic cures. This does not mean that we believe that magic in itself works but because the context it is practiced in and the diverse processes that are put to work can improve the condition of the patient or at least his perception of his condition. To name a few we mention the following:

Socialization Process: the routine and inculcation of magical values and beliefs play a vital role in endowing people with the social skills and attitudes that govern their subsequent behaviour when they are sick. Little children at the shrine, for instance, seem to learn their magical skills and knowledge by experience and observation—how to act in rituals and ceremonies, and how to perform traditional cure. So, when they grow up, they may share similar magical worldview and will be well equipped to let the jinni speak in their voice should they ever fall ill or become haunted.

Shared worldview: possession reflects a shared worldview between patient and healer. In maraboutic culture, It is used to refer both to organic and non-organic sicknesses. It is part of a set of healing symbols that manipulates social interactions between healer and patient. These social actors both understand healing symbols used for sicknesses, and share similar worldviews. Hence, patients hold faith (*niya*) in healers' powers, whether "legitimate" or "non-legitimate," and respond positively to their cure.

Group support: arriving at the shrine, people may be helped and assisted by other visitors. They chat together, advise one another and relate encouraging stories and miraculous cases of cure. The patient's family also plays an important role in this solidarity network.

The patient's mastery of his problem in the curative process: the patient participates in his cure. He is assigned the task to drink and wash himself with the water of the sacred well, use talismans, take certain herbs or incense and fumigate himself. All this gives the patient the idea that he can do something for his problem and probably enhances the placebo effect.

¹ Beattie claims that "sociologically, this is the most important thing about symbols; they provide people with a means of representing abstract ideas, often ideas of great practical importance to themselves indirectly, ideas which would be difficult or even impossible for them to represent to themselves directly" (1964, p. 70).

Ritual of ṣrī: a channel of emotional discharge for patients: it is the acting out of interpersonal problems; the jinni being an image of unsocial thought and behaviour gets burnt by prayers—(prayers vs. desire; order vs. disorder). *Ṣrī* becomes a ritual of moral organisation of society. Symbolically, desires are first acted out and thereafter punished or controlled so that social order is restored. The child going against his father and the woman against her husband may play out their illicit desire and are afterwards “beaten” into submission. Exhibitionistic sexual desire is disciplined, and naked people are put into the *khalwa*. Forms of transgression are regimented. Differences are exorcised and re-assorted into recognizable identities.

Cult membership: The patient becomes member of a cult. This endows him with a new social identity, makes him strike new relationships, see life differently and enrol himself in a maraboutic mode of life.

Placebo effect: People get hope at the shrine in contradiction to the modern doctor who may say: “I have no cure for your sickness.” The healer always gives hope. He says he knows everything, and avows that the power of the saint is great. There are no problems the saint has not solved. Also, there is in the last resort always Allah who can and will make you better if He wills.

The placebo effect is the effect that occurs when doctors administrate a medicine that has no active ingredient (for instance because there exists none); this medicine all the same produces a positive effect on the patient. It seems that the belief the patient holds that indeed creates the positive effect. The effect seems to be even greater when also the doctor believes in it (e.g. when he himself believes that he is giving potent medication). This has been studied in modern medicine in different experiments. They show that the idea alone of a powerful drug in itself produces decrease in pain and symptoms. Cultural beliefs about a pill (colour of the pill, effervescence, injection vs. oral administration) seem to make medicines more powerful than they are. The exact mechanism of this effect is not yet really understood and is still the object of research. However, all the positive effects of traditional cure may be attributed for a great part to the placebo effect of healing symbols and rituals (see, Moerman, 2000).

However, the systematic cure given at the shrine is not always completely effective. The majority of the Buffis’ patients who are said to be cured become devotees of the saint as I have mentioned before and either settle there forever, perform periodical visits, organize occasional *jedbas* or call for the Buffi healers whenever they do not feel well. After all, it is a vicious circle without permanent cure. What patients gain from their treatment is a temporary relief from the indelible scars of

their past. Their personality does not change and their *maktub* ('written fate') is to reenact their suffering. Some of these patients end up in a web of servitude to the saint and his descendents.

Generally speaking, the Buffis are believed to control *jnun* and as a consequence possessed people. They are thought to have access to the future and the secrets of life, and to divination and cure. The patients may yield to their commands and live in peaceful obedience to them. They need the Buffi curers to think on their behalf, explain for them the enigma of their social stalemate, and find the causes of the deterioration of their health and decline of their trade. The *shurfa* do not need to work in order to batten socially and live in prosperity. The masses of followers are willing to offer them regular gifts and work for them with an open heart so far as they keep faithful to their institutional role of spiritual protectors maintaining a fighting force in a social arena where insecurity is the law of survival.

However, the question that looms up in mind is "do the Buffis really control what they call *jnun*?" What I have observed at the shrine is the reverse. Both patients and healers are caught in a vicious circle of jinn possession. Many Buffi families have mentally sick children. The question is whether this is structural or coincidental. It seems to be structural because most of the *hufdan* have been ill at a certain time in their lives. Moreover, they do not like their children to practice *ṣri*^c because of the inevitable peril of possession. A recurrent attitude I have realized in a number of Buffi families is that they get angry easily ("khadrin," "impulsive"). They seem to have a moody temperament though this seems to be a stereotypical aspect usually associated with *shurfa* in Moroccan society. The Buffi cultural upbringing as a matter of fact needs more investigation. A detailed observation of some Buffi families shows that the atmosphere in which their children are brought up contributes into their illness. Children are exposed to the maraboutic context at an earlier age:

- The child is brought up to believe in myth and magic.
- The father tells stories of jinn possessed people in front of his children.
- The child frequents the shrine and observes scenes of *ṣri*^c, traumatic experiences that may influence his worldview in the long run.

It seems that the healers are enslaved by their shared magical worldview. Though the *shurfa* assume the role of masters in their own vicinity, outside it they appear to be unable to face their social problems,

relying on their own potentials. If the *qaid*, for instance, calls a *shrif* to his office, the latter has to consult a jinni whether he has to go or not. Every decisive step the *shrif* intends to do, he has to consult his informant jinni. Stories of this sort abound among the *shurfa*. Some of them even call jinns telephones or *khabirs* (informants). Most of the Buifi *shurfa* do not seem to recognize the empirical side of life built on probing, planning, thought and personal initiative.

They lack all necessary empirical tools with which to approach reality. They rely on the cultural heritage they are familiar with to explain the world they live in. “In this way they provide an antidote to ignorance and doubt. For most people, in all times and cultures, it is a necessity to know, even to know wrongly, rather than not to know at all” (Beattie, 1964, p. 206). Many of the Buifis and their clients, revert to proverbs, traditions, rituals, omens, dreams and other symbolic beliefs and practices to ferret out their social concerns. They do not seem to analyse their conditions nor discuss probable solutions. They rather perceive their social world through inherited preconceptions and take them for granted. They even disallow anyone to question them.

To conclude, maraboutism as it is observed at Ben Yeffu seems to be an historical constant in Morocco. It celebrates the intercession between man and God, venerates saints, and promotes the belief in *baraka* and contact of *jnun* with humans. It responds to Moroccans’ cultural specificity, and converts the Average Moroccan to a popular form of Islam based on down-to-earth religious symbols that have always existed in his society. Thus any project of social change built on abstract ideals and austere messages denying the individual his religious and cultural specificity may be doomed to failure. The arrival of Islamism in Morocco—for instance—has been delayed by the popular growth of the world of saints, a tangible form of worship that contradicts the abstract doctrine of fundamentalism (cf. Chtatou, 1996).

The State, aware of the perennial originality of maraboutic rituals and beliefs, vehemently encourages their practice through the restoration of shrines, royal donations, and organization of *moussems* though some of these are organized for touristic purposes. It is a policy of containment to get a firm grasp of the socio-religious field. Aware of the growing threat of Islamists, the State tries to revive the role of *zawi-yas*, especially in rural areas, and the Bouchichi order under the *shaykh* Sidi Hamza’s leadership remains by far the most important example. Moreover, the previous king Hassan II set up ‘a new council of ulama

under his presidency' and 'regional councils' to work institutionally to propagate a moderate version of Islam, which expresses the anxiety of the monarch about the rising movements of Islamic activists (see Benomar, 1988, p. 553).

At present, a sizeable proportion of the population still visits saints to implore them for cure and solution to their problems despite the sustainable progress of modern medicine. So far as these magical beliefs run deep in Moroccan society today, they may be one of the important factors that slow down the process of modernization. Historically, modernization has not occurred overnight; it has taken centuries to spread its values and beliefs. Its progression has always been uneven. Whatever the level of social change, there are always 'backward' regions and 'marginalized' groups being a continuous source of tension and conflict in modern societies. This can be discerned at an international scale, especially as modernization expands towards the Third World; but this should not be taken as a reason to give an explanation for the survival of maraboutism in Morocco.

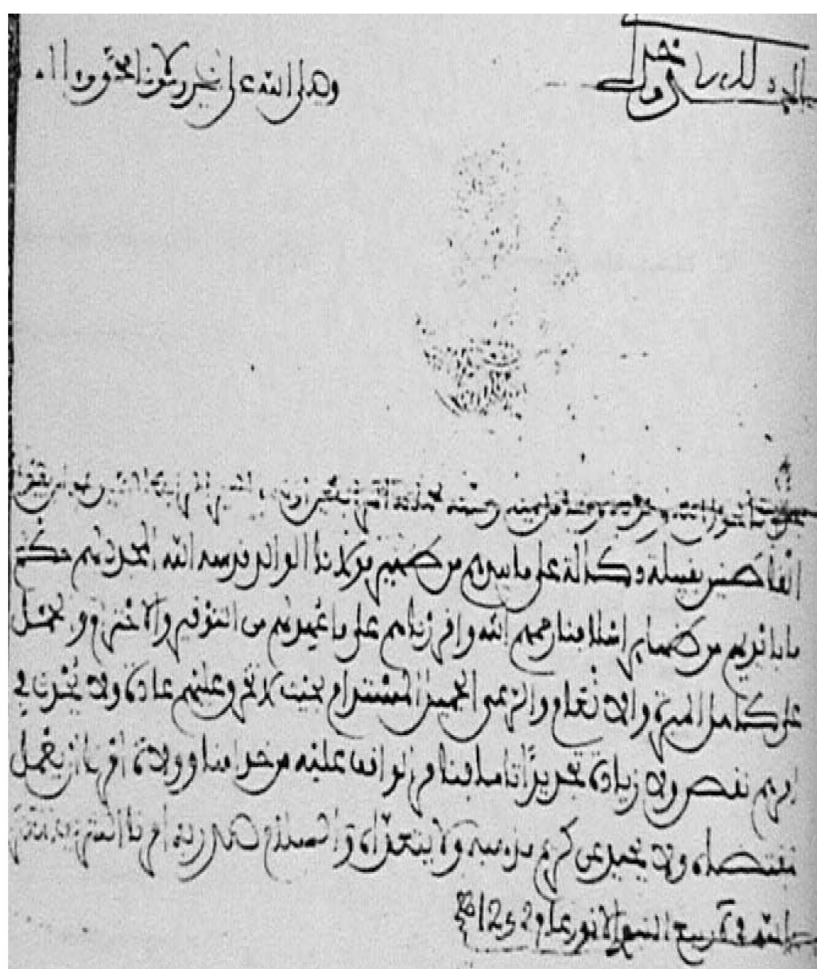
The cultural foundations of the world of saints, as it has been highlighted and argued before, *contain* the process of modernization. The master-disciple schema seems to be the keystone of the invention of cultural and social structures that organize individual and group social relationships in Morocco. So, any social project of change based on modern values or Islamic ones will inevitably fall within the pre-existing hierarchical social frameworks predominant in a society ruled by the historical paradigm of master-disciple relationship, a reason, for instance, why our newly established religious minorities (*jama'as*) seem to be modeled on the structures of maraboutic institutions. They may practice mysticism and have 'saint-leaders'—like the case of the ex-Bouchichi disciple Abdsalam Yassine, now the prophetic leader of the Islamist movement, al-'Adl wa al-Ihsan (Justice and Spirituality). They may establish solidarity networks like *zawiyas* in disguise, and cure illnesses with the use of magico-religious practices though they declare overtly their resistance to maraboutic beliefs. All in all, the revival of the maraboutic institution serves as a reactive response against the intrusion of new forces, and helps the state uphold its hegemony over the socio-religious field, especially in the rural world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

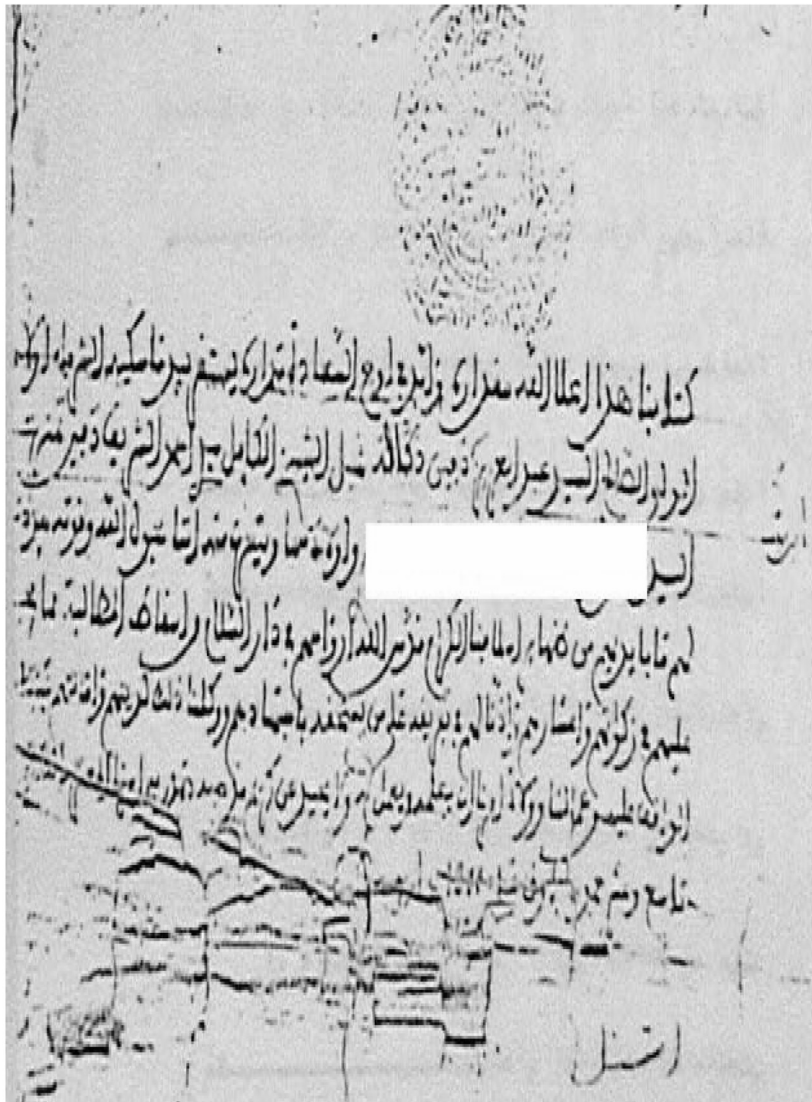
Royal Decrees (dahirs)

Decree No. 1



تفويض من السلطان محمد بن عبد الرحمن

 الحمد لله وحده
 وعلى الله تعالى سيدنا ومولانا محمد
 وعلى آله
 جددنا بحول الله وقوته وتامل يمينه ومنتته بحملته المرابطين
 اولاد السيد المرابط الخير محمد بن يفيو القاضين بقبيلة
 دكالة على ما ياتيديهم من عمير مولانا الوالي قدسه الله
 المجدد لهم حكم ما ياتيهم من طعائر اسلافنا رحمهم الله
 واقرارناهم على ما عاهد لهم من التوقيع والاحترام والاحسان
 على كاهل المصيرة والانعاش والرعي الجميل المستدام بحيث
 لا تخرف عليهم عادة ولا يحدث في امرهم نقص ولا زيادة تجديدا
 تاما فتأمر الواقف عليه من خدامنا وولاة امرنا ان يعمل
 بمقتضاء ولا يخيد عن كريم مذهبه ولا يتعاضد والسلم
 مدر به امرنا الشريف المعترف في 6 ربيع الاثور عام 1292هـ

Decree No. 2

شَهِيدٌ مِنَ السُّلْطَانِ مُوَلَّيْ الْحُسَيْنِ

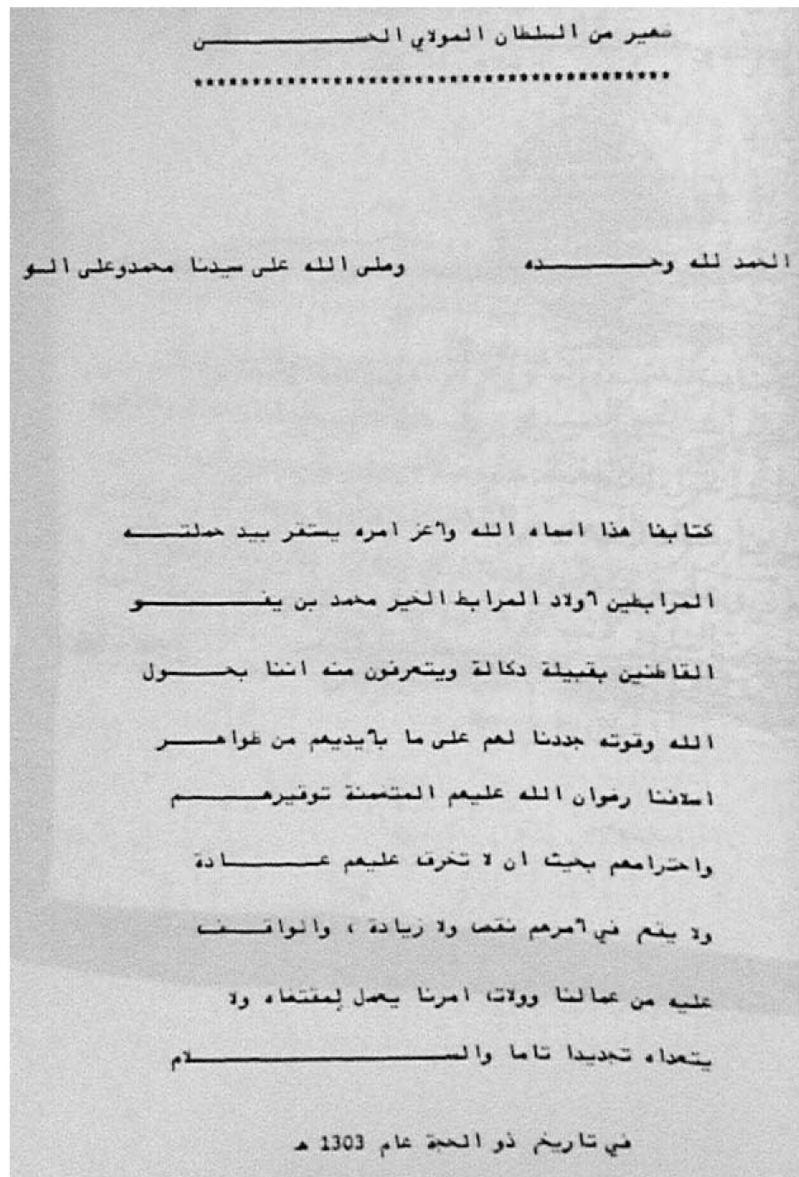
الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد
 وعلى آله وصحبه

كتابتنا هذا اعلاه الله مقداره وايد في برحم السعادة مداره
 يستقر بيد ما سقيه الترفاء اولاد الولي العالم سيدي
 عبد العزيز بن يفيو دفين دكالة نجل الشيم الكامل
 سيدي احمد الشريف دفين تمررتا ، السيد [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] واولادهما يتعرفون
 منه اننا بحول وقوته جددنا لهم ما بيدهم من نفائس
 ملائنا الكرام قدما الله ارواحهم في دار السلام ، واسقاط
 المطالب عليهم في زكواتهم واعثارهم واذنا لهم في تفريقه
 على من يستحقه باجتماعهم ووكلتنا ذلك، لدينهم وامانتهم ،
 فتأمر الواقف عليه من عمالنا وولاتنا امرنا ان يعمل ويحصل
 به ولا يحيد عن كريم مذهبه .

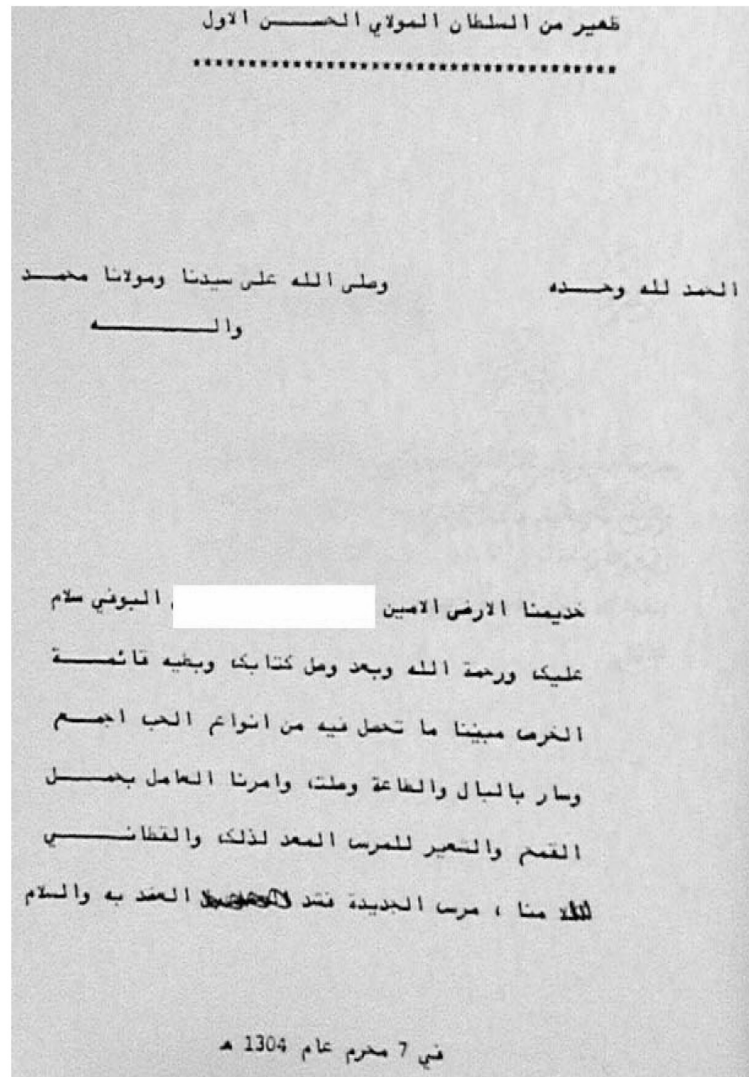
صدر به امرنا المحترز بالله في 19 جمادى الاولى عام 1300 هـ

Decree No. 3

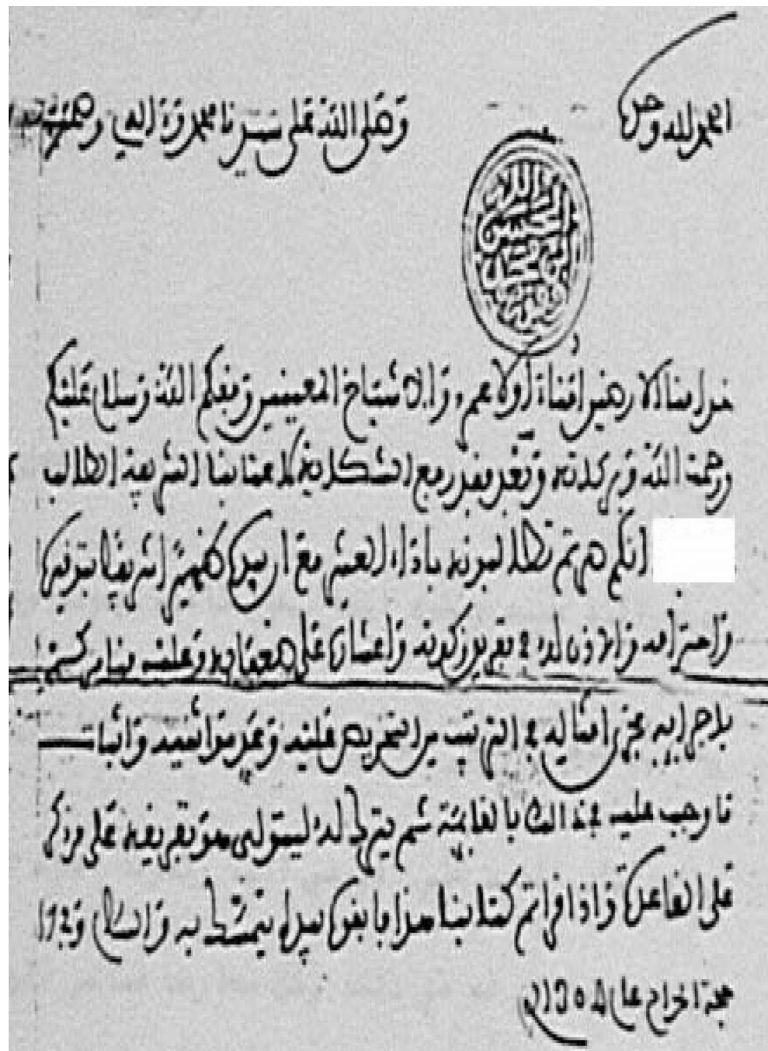


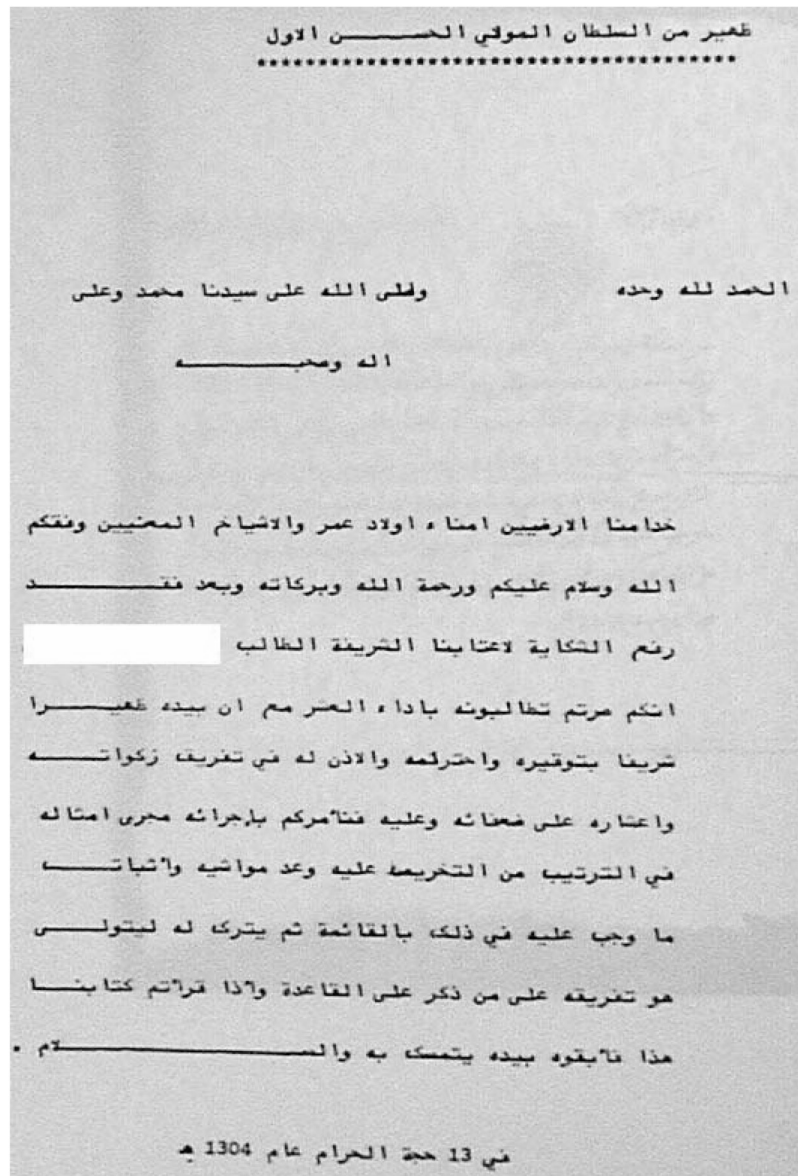


خیر الله و
 رحمة الله علی سیدک و مولانا محمد زکریا
 خیرنا ازین روزی که ازین
 رحمتی که و بکماله فائمه اخرین
 اضع و طریا الباق و الیاسه و الی
 انقدر لایزال و انقطاع لانا و
 354

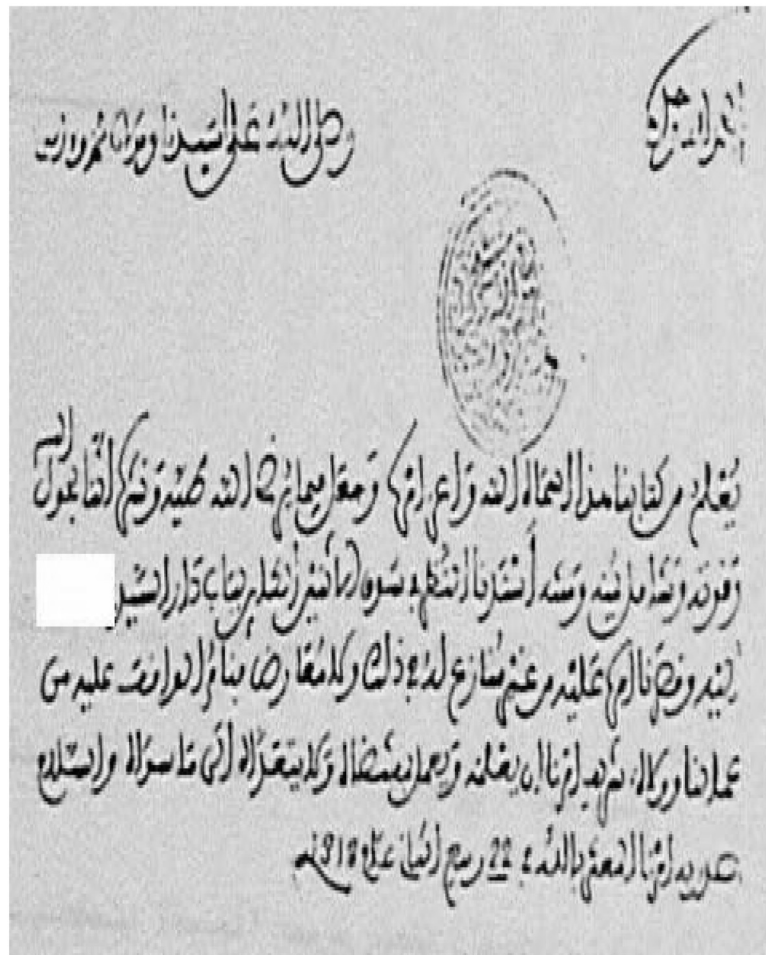


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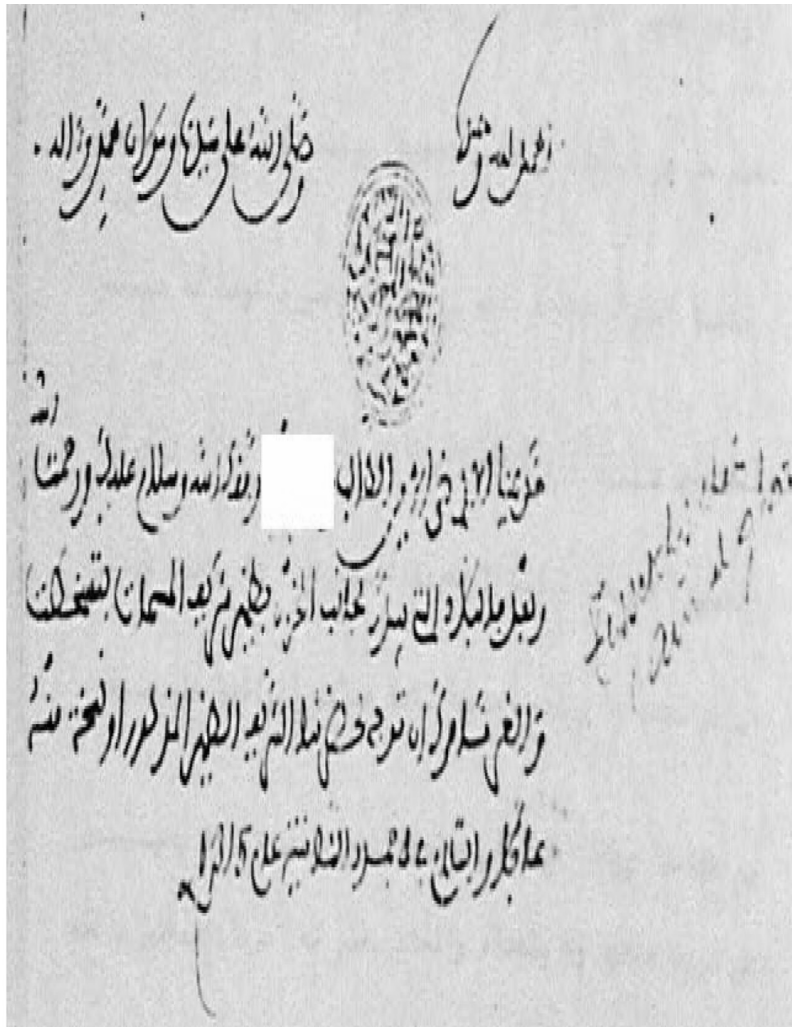


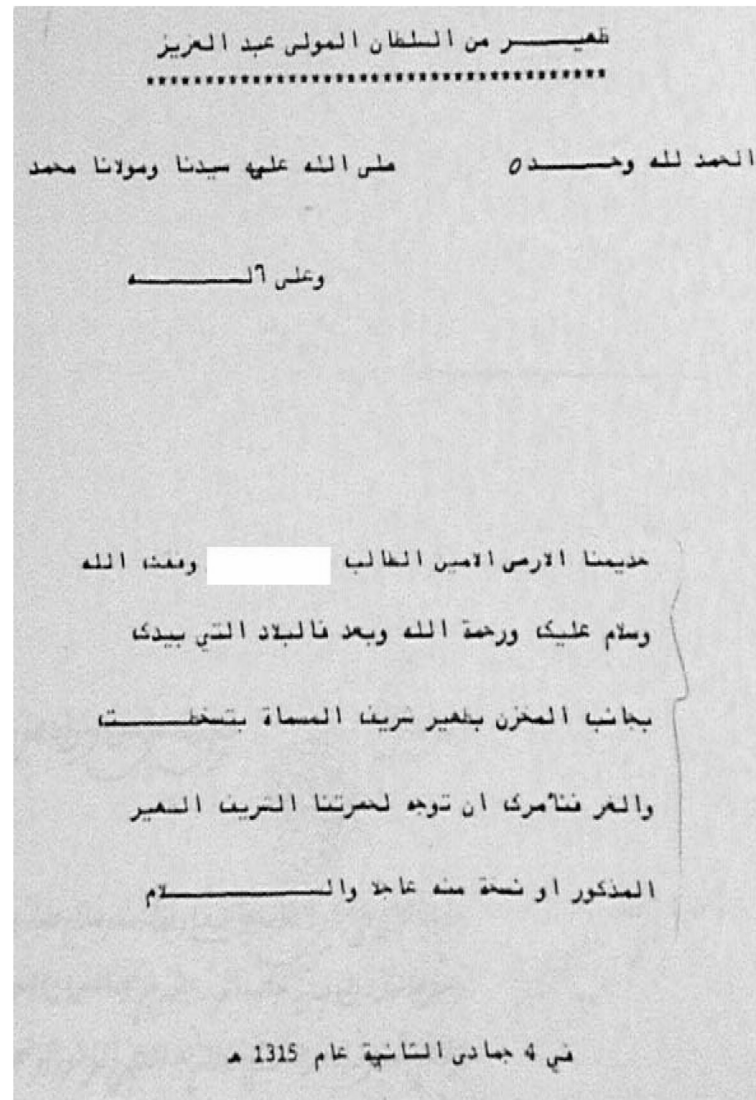
Decree No. 6



ظهير من السلطان المولى عبد العزيز

 الحمد لله وحده والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا ومولانا محمد
 وعلى آله
 يعلم من كتابنا هذا اساء الله واغز امره وجعل فيما
 يرضي الله طيبه ونشره اننا بحول تالله وقوته وشامل
 يمينه ومنته اسلفنا النضر في سوق الاثنين الكائن
 بباب دار السيد [] اليه وقصرنا امره عليه
 من غير منازع له في ذلك وكل معارض فنأمر الواقف
 عليه من عمالنا وولاة شريف امرنا ان يعلمه ويعمل
 بمقتضاه ولا يتعداه الى ما سواه والسلام
 مدر به امرنا المعترز بالله في 22 ربيع الثاني عام 1313 هـ

Decree No. 7



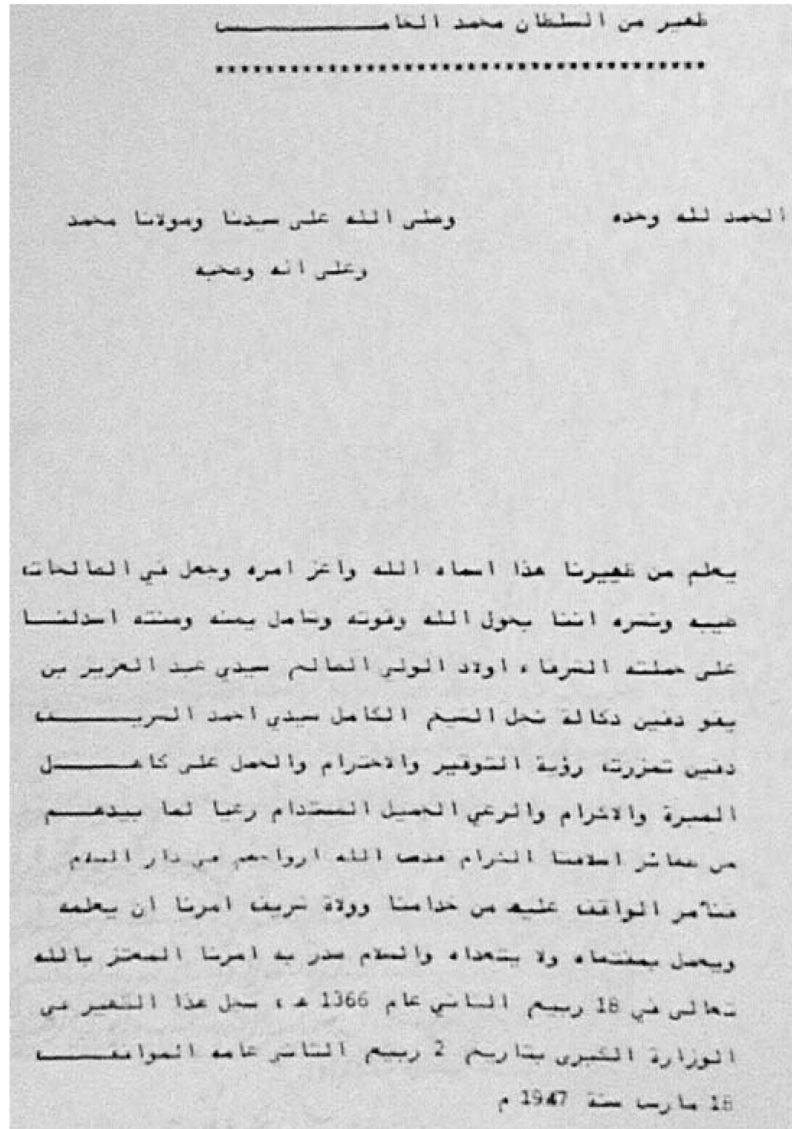
[illegible]

ظهير من السلطان المولى عبد الحفيظ

 الحمد لله وحده
 وعلى الله تعالى سيدنا مخد وعلى
 اله وحده
 جددنا بحول الله وقوته وشامل يمينه ومنته تحملته المرابيين
 اولاد الخير المرابط محمد بن يغو القاطنين بقبيلة دكالة
 حكم ما بي ايديهم من ظهير المخطو مولانا الوالي وشعائير
 اسلافنا الكرام رحمهم الله واقرارناهم على ما عاهد له من
 التوقير والاحترام والحمل على كاهل الميرة والانتقام والرعي
 الحميل المستدام بحيث لا تحرق غليهم عادة ولا يحدث في
 امرهم نقص ولا زيادة تجديدا تاما فتأمر الواقعة عليه
 من خدامنا وولاة امرنا ان يعلمه ويعمل بمقتضاه ولا يحيد
 عن كريم مذهبه ولا يتعداه والسلم .مدر به امرنا المحتر بالله
 في 24 شعبان الابرك عام 1325 هـ

Decree No. 9





APPENDIX TWO

Text 1

Jinni: *Allah lā ilaha illa Allah / asalamu ‘alikum ayuha l-‘abdu ṣāliḥ*

Healer 1: *wa ‘aikumu salam*

J: *ash galu asidi ash galu*

Healer 2: *Latifa Bent Fatima men ‘Abda*

J: (referring to the interviewer) *mrat had siyyed*

H2: *lla*

J: *‘andha diyar*

H2: *fin madyur*

J: *‘and bab l-‘atba*

H2: *shkun li dairu*

J: *dayrah l-mra*

H2: *l-mra lemen*

J: *had siyyeda kaṭiḥ*

H2: *kaṭiḥ / wa ma katenṭaqsh*

J: *dayrin liha dakshi ghaybi / dartu liha l-mra li ‘andha limara f-wajha*

H2: *a smha*

J: *man smmihash daba / lā ilaha illa Allah Mohammed rasul Allah / qriba mab‘idash men l-‘a‘ila*

H2: *‘a‘ilt l-mra ula rajel*

J: *‘a‘ilt-ha*

H2: *ula bghina n-baṭluḥ*

J: *t-baṭlih*

H2: *ashndiru*

J: (silence, then addresses the first healer): *kenti t-‘aiṭ ‘liya gbel l-‘aṣer*

H1: *semḥu lina ‘aiṭna ‘likum fi had l-waqet / ja ‘andna wahed rajel ḍaif u bgha yjeme‘ m‘akum*

J: *marḥba bih*

H1: *ma ‘arftu fash kheddām*

J: *kay qarri / hadak siyyed rabbani / kay bghi l-ma‘qul / mazal ghadi t-kun ‘andu l-khair u ktir / huwa taygul / ana bghit nshuf had l-majadib u had ṣāliḥin / u had shi a weldi kayn / u lidar niya ta ḥaja ma ṭṣibu / l-Qur’an ash madkur fih / kayn shayṭani u rabbani*

H: *semḥu lina ‘aiṭna ‘likum fi had l-waqet*

J: *nuba dyal na kat sali m'a l-aser / kulha u nubtu lā ilaha illa Allah*
 H1: *samḥuna*
 J: *had l-marra wajjed liya tub dyali u jawi dyali*

Text 2

A. **kaid nisā'**

1. *ḥdīt nsa izwenes* u *y'allem l-fhama*
2. *ydiru sharka min riḥ* u *yḥasnu lik bla ma*
3. *suq nsa suq matyār* yā *dakhlu rud balek*
4. *ywariw lik min rbaḥ qunṭār* u *ykhasruk fi ras malek*
5. *keid nsa kidain* u *min kidhum yā ḥzuni*
6. *rākba 'la dhar sba'* u *tgul jdyan yakluni*

B. **shabaqiyat nisā'**

7. *l-qubba' taret u t-ellāt* nzlāt 'la 'ud *rashi*
8. *nsa gā' qahbāt* ghir lli ma *tāqet 'la shi*

C. **ghadr nisā'**

9. *lā t'amnhum lā yghuruk* u *fi ḥdithum mā ydumu*
10. *l-ḥut fi l-bḥar 'awām* u *huma bla ma y'umu*
11. *lā fi jbel wād mā lūm* u *lā fi shta lil dāfi*
12. *lā fi l-du qalb marḥūm* u *lā fi nsa 'ahd wāfi*

Text 3

Healer (1): *gul a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim / gul a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim / gul a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim / !* ([there is silence] he starts mildly slapping the patient's cheek) *gul a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim / maka t-ṣallish / gul a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim / n'al shiṭan / gul a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim*

Jinni (2): *a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim*

H (3): *'awd-ha*

J (4): *a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim*

H (5): *'awd-ha*

J (6): *a'udu billah mina shayṭan rajim*

H (7): *asmek*

J (8): *'Aicha*

H (9): *ina waḥda*

- J (10): *mulat l-wad*
H (11): *abuhdek ula m'ak shi wahed fi had l-jutta*
J (12): *m'aya Mira*
H (13): *safi*
J (14): *Mira u Malika*
H (15): *m'akum shi rajel u la antuma l-'yalat*
J (16): *al-'yalat*
H (17): *daba kan hdar m'a 'Aicha*
H (18): *mumna*
J (19): *Malika / Malika li-tal'a*
H (20): *Malika / guli n'am*
J (21): *n'am*
H (22): *daba n-ti rak fi hadrat Sultan mulay 'Abdelaziz / msellma*
J (23): *ayeh*
H (24): *talba tslim*
J (25): *ayeh*
H (26): *Malika mjewja u la lla*
J (27): *lla*
H (28): *Malki m'a had siyyeda*
J (29): *shadinha 'al dim*
H (30): *shhal untuma shadinha*
J (31): *Malika 'andha 'am u nes / 'Aicha 'andha 4 shhur / Mira 'andha 4 snin*
H (32): *daba ghadi t-farqu m'aha*
J (33): *lla*
H (34): *'lash*
J (35): *kat hragna bi ssala*
H (36): *hiya n-tuma yehud mash mselmin*
J (37): *man t-farqush m'aha*
H (38): *ma t-farqush m'aha*
J (39): (shouting) *wallā / m-an t-fa-r-qush m'a-hā*
H (40): (he blows) *'lash*
([there is silence] he starts mildly slapping the patient's cheek)
H (41): (he blows) *heshmi / Malika heshmi*
(The 'jinni' is shouting out of pain! The healer blows on her)
J (42): (shouting) *l-fu ya Ben Yeffu*
(The 'jinni' moans in pain)
H (43): *daba ghadi t-kellmi 'Aicha*
J (44): *'Aicha mujuda / hādra hādra hādra*
H (45): *'Aicha sam'i*

- J (46): (interrupting) *ḥāḍra*
H (47): *had siyyeda madam jat* ‘and Sultan Sidi ‘Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu / *ghadi t-semḥu liha wakha*
J (48): *mam samḥin-sh liha*
H (49): (interrupting the jinni’s refusal) *lla sm’i / fi ḥaq shurfā ghadi t-samḥu m’aha u t-farqu m’aha*
(The ‘jinni’ collapses in a fit of panting. This will go on till the end of *ṣri*)
H (50): (he blows) *yallah sam’i khlaṣ / kellmi Mira*
J (51): (still weeping) *ma bghat-sh*
H (52): (shouting) *lla t-ji / t-ji t-ḥḍar l-maḥkama t-ji daba*
J (53): (her fit gets worse and she clasps her hands) *llā*
(The healers unclasp her hands)
H (54): *ṣafi ḥaydi*
(The ‘jinni’ is still weeping and receives mild slaps from the *shrif*)
H (55): (he blows) *kellmi Mira t-ji*
J (56): (weeping) *ma bghat-sh*
H (57): *daba t-ji / t-ji t-ḥḍar l-maḥkama daba*
J (58): (now wildly weeping) *ma bghatsh t-ḥakem durk*
H (59): *ma bghatsh t-ḥakem durk*
J (60): (still wildly weeping) *lla ma bghatsh t-ḥakem durk*
H (61): *lla bghinaha t-ji daba*
J (62): (interrupting in shouts) *nuba nuba nuba nuba*
H (63): *raft sm’i / bghait-ha ji t-stanṭeq m’ana*
(There is a conflict between the ‘jinni’ and the *shrif* that goes on for long about Mira’s refusal to be present)
H (64): *nezli daba / u -ḥaqek ra ma ghan gl’u-sh lik*
J (65): *tal l-‘aṣer*
(The healer addresses the interviewer and asks him whether the evocation of Mira can be postponed till afternoon prayer. The latter agrees. Suddenly the jinni makes up his mind and decides to be present)
H (66): *t-al ‘aṣer*
J (67): *t-al ‘aṣer / u la hahiya bagha tdkhul daba*
H (68): *ya llah dukhli daba / Mira dukhli*
(The *khushba* is gradually shuddering from head to toes as if something was crawling under the *djellaba*)
J (69): *shi farḥan biha u shi ma farḥan-sh biha*
H (70): *farḥanin biha kul shi*
(The audience start shouting expressions of welcome. The ‘jinni’ collapses in a fit of panting)

- H (71): *khlaṣ men l-hadra / ash had taṭtiq / raha jaya 'and nas li farhanin biha galak*
- H (72): *Mira ṣafi / marḥbabik yallah zidi*
- J (73): *ana msellema / ana msellema / ana msellma / ana msellema*
- H (74): (in a stern voice) *fi l-ḥukm dyal Sultan Mulay 'Abdelaziz*
- J (75): *ana msellemalih / ana msellemalih / ana msellemalih / ana msellema lih*
- H (76): (in a stern voice) *fi l-ḥukm dyal Sultan Mulay 'Abdelaziz*
- J (77): *huwa li jabni yames hna / huwa li jabni*
- H (78): *marḥbabik*
- J (79): *huwa li jabni yames*
- H (80): *Mira / mjewja ula-lla*
- J (81): *lla*
- H (82): *shḥal fi 'umrek*
- J (83): *4 snin*
- H (84): *yallah 4 snin baqa ṣghira*
- J (85): *ayeh*
- H (86): *u malkum m'aha 'lash shditu-ha*
- J (87): *abarka u tebki*
- H (88): *ḍabtuha 'al ḍim*
- J (89): *ayeh abarka u tebki 'la mha*
- H (90): *hiya maskina tebki 'la mha untuma malkum / wah*
(The 'jinni' is still weeping)
- H (91): *ṣafi Allah y-sameḥ a Mira / had siyyeda mnin jat 'adna / Allah y-sameḥ / lemma jat hna l-mahkama 'and Sultan Sidi 'Abdelaziz / hna ghadi n-waṣiw ha ma t-bqash tabki / u n-tuma ghadi t-bta'du 'liha*
- J (92): *ṣafi*
- H (93): *ṣafi mtafqin*
- J (94): *wakha*
- H (95): *ghadi t-'ahdini daba*
- J (96): *wakha*
- H (97): *yallah hezi ydik laymana*
(The 'jinni' lifts his right hand in a sign of making a pledge)
- H (98): *hadi yedk laymana*
- J (99): *ayeh*
- H (100): *yak nti mumna*
- J (101): *ayeh*
- H (102): *guli hada 'ahd llah ghadi n-taferqu 'liha men sa'et daba*
- J (103): *hada 'ahd llah ghadi n-taferqu 'liha men sa'et daba*
- H (104): *guli! uqsimu bi llahi l-'aliy l-'azim*
- J (105): *uqsimu bi llahi l-'aliy l-'azim / ghadi n-taferqu 'liha men sa'et daba*

- H (106): *anti mas'ula 'la kulshi / Malika u 'Aicha*
 J (107): *ana ḥakma fihum*
 H (108): *anti mas'ula / ghadi t-khwiz had l-jutta*
 J (109): *ana mas'ula*
 H (110): (he blows once) *yallah bslama 'lik / u l-musamaḥa*
 J (111): *l-musamaḥa*

Text 4

hadhā Saiḥ li qahr l-jenn

bismi allahi shaḥfi al-ʿafi al-qahhār
al-ḥakīm fi mulki-hi ʿalā jamīʿi al-makhlūqāti lā sharīka lah
Allahuma ṣalli ʿalā sayidinā Mohammed nabiyy al-mukhtār
wa ʿalā alihi wa al-muhājirīn wa al-anṣār
wa man tabiʿahum wa man tawassala bihum ila Allah
kāḥfaʿahu bi-alsrar wa man abghadāhum fa nnaru maʿwāh
hadhā nasabu ṣāllih Sidi Abdelaziz Ben Yeffu l-bdar
lilt ʿashra u rbaʿ makmul bhah
ḍuwāt nwaru ʿlīna kif l-far
ʿattār blādna ynfaq lemen jāh
ṭhib bla ʿshub ʿandu kenz serr
fi ʿilāj l-mriḍ wa l-maʿlul biʿamr l-mula dawah
ma y-ʿti sfuf wala ykwi bi maḥwar
ma ʿandu mazbaq ma ydrab ʿarq wala yʿmal shartat ḥdah
naḥka men naḥkat weldu ka tis jmar
takwi l-ʿafrit ṭharqu fi jufu u ḥshah
lahdiya ṭjih bin ḡnam u bqar
kul men qaṣdu bi niya yedrek shi linwah
sultān ʿala dawam yḥkam bi l-mashwar
ḡhiyat khdimu u kul men nadāh
ṣerkhat men nadāh henna u fi dak l-bar
sidi jabber ʿazmi khayrkum man nsāh
Sidi Ali khuh bāz ṭayr ḥur
ila ḥawam ʿal l-farg dyal l-jenn ma tsmā ʿghir zgah
Sidi Ahmed bahum mithl al-asad yazʿar
mina al-mujahidin fi sabil Allah
Sidi Mohammed shrif l-mnawar
Sidi Abdelwahed men awliyaʿ Allah
Sidi Abdelkrim mul ser zaher

Sidi Mohammed *y-ghit kul men nadah*
 Sidi Abdelaziz *majdub mhayar*
ynṭaq belli kain men qurubat Allah
 Sidi Youssef *bi l-‘ulum yzhar*
bi dhikr wa l-hadith ykhasha‘ bi khash‘ati Allah
 Mulay Abdsalam *shams al-‘alam shaykhna yḥḍar*
wasila l-muridin iqarrab l-‘abd l-mulah
al-qutb Sidi Mshish Ben Abi Bakr
 Ben ‘Ali Ben Ḥurma Ben Isa *wali* Allah
 Ben Salām Ben Mazwarah Ben Ḥayḍar
 Ben ‘Ali Ben Mohammed *al-musamā bi ism jeddu rasul Allah*
 Ibn Mulay Driss *al-asghar*
 Ibn Mulay Driss Ben Abdellah
 al-Kamel Ben al-Muthanna *linā yḥḍar*
 Ibn al-Hasan Sabṭi Ben Fatima Bent *rasul Allah*
Ya rabbi bi ḥaqhum shfini men kul ḍar
ṭslaḥ dini u tyesser li kul ma n-trejjaḥ
wa ṣalli ya rabbi ‘alā nnabiy al-mukhtar
wa l-aḥl wa l-aṣḥāb wa man tabi‘ah

Text 5

From the poem ‘aw‘awi by the shaykh Sidi Bu‘asriya

1. *ya l-wāqef quddam shaykh kun ṣabbār*
khdam b-nniya tenja men l-wzārī
2. *khdamt sidi qlibi mafih taghyār*
khdamt jeddi nsaimu ‘adu fi ḍfārī
3. *baraktu ‘adet fiya wellit ntzār*
men sarru shafu ‘andi l-srārī
4. *men faḍl Allah ‘ankum rabbit rish*
ilaqqah bustani fettah nuwwāru
5. *jwarḥi ya sidi fi ḥurmek thanaw*
jud bi mṭarek jnani ibat rāwī
6. *khaṣelteḥ tzhar ya kenz zamān*
l-jil lli ja yṣibek Sultan
7. *salaṭin ya sidi kanu u tnsāw*
ra l-qsar lli kanu fih ‘ad khāwī
8. *nta sultan qbalhum fi qurun mḍaw*
baqi sultan thkam fi l-jbāl wa shāwī

9. *naşruk min l-jil l-jil bik tsmāw*
li hda u sken lik tāwi
10. *lli 'agzu 'al l-mji bik nadāw*
baraktek tureşalhum ki barq shtāwi
11. *l-'afarit win babahum kanu 'şāw*
tab'in d'awi khayfin min shkāwi
12. *khşaylek ya sidi ra khuddamek biha yt'anāw*
ranta tghithum b'ad tkun 'lihum jnāwi
13. *şarkhat l-madyum lli maşab maqdār*
ranta tghit men yndah bik fi l-jbal u şhāri

*Text 6****From the poem al-warshan by the shaykh Sidi Bu'asriya***

1. *mudda fi zaman ba'dkum fatu men Sultan*
mabaqi lihum shan
fi dniya markkyin
2. *ntuma mazeltu fi nşar*
wa al-hamma wa al-jah
shshikaya fi bab darkum arba'atu arkan
rişal wa niswan
qiyad wa salaṭīn
3. *Sultan ilaja l-babkum*
labudda ys'ah

*Text 7****ṭalab al-ghait***

ya rabbanā da'ufati al-tfālu
wa qahīta nisā'u wa rişālu
wa ḏā'ati zuru'u wa al-mawashi
wa sā'ati zzunūnu bi talashi
wa akhlaqa al-wujuha kathratu al-khaṭā
al-kullu fi baḥri al-mahawi khabaṭā
a-ṭayru ta'lū wa al-wuḥuṣhu gharithat
al-ḥaṣharātu wa al-khushāshu ḏubiṭat
tasawa'a al-kullu mina al-ḥayāti
wa ashrafu al-kullu 'alā ṭalāfi

fa anta khayru man 'afā wa tāba
 wa khayru man idhā du'ya istajāba
 wa khayru māmūnīn wa khayru mustī
 wa khayru mas'ūlīn wa khayru mu'ī
 wa khayru man jāda wa khayru man mana'
 wa khayru man dafā'a kulla muṣṭana'
 wa khayru māmūnīn wa khayru murtajā
 wa man ilayhi fi al-kurūbi yurtajā
 fa'in tu 'adhib fa dhunubu jammah
 aw ta'fu fa l-faḍlu jami'an 'ammah
 tajjidu man siwānā man tu'adhibu
 wa lam najid siwāka rabban narghabu
 naḥnu 'iyāluka wa in 'aṣaynā
 jāwazna al-ḥudūda wa 'tadaynā
 wa mā 'aṣaynāka 'alā 'inādīn
 lākin jarā al-maqṣudu fi al-bilādi
 wa ghfir lanā wa tub wa 'āfi yā wadūd
 wa smaḥ wa sāmīḥ wa tazwallanā bijud
 wa mḥu khatayāna wa baddil ḥawbanā
 wa qbal bi wus'i al-faḍli minka tazabanā
 wa sbil 'alaynā wāsi'a nazwālī
 bi al-ghaythi yātīnā ma'a ttawālī
 zawjan sari'an mughdiqan midrāra
 munhamiran munkhaliqan miḥhāra
 bi al-yumni wa dda'wati ghayra wānin
 ya'ti ma'a rrahmati wa ttahāni
 lā tahlīki al-'ibāda bi dhdhunūbi
 yā man lahu maḥfātīhu al-ghuyūbi
 wa lā tu'ajjil li l-'ibādi bi al-'adhāb
 fa mā tarakta fawqa zahrihā dhubāb
 thumma ṣṣalātu wa ṣsalāmu ma da'a
 'abdun wa lā yas'al ilayka stashfa'a
 'alā za'imihim wa muṣtafāhum
 Mohammedi al-ḥabībī muḥtabāhum
 Wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi al-'udulī
 anāṣirīna dina bi al-khuyūlī
 nāzimuhu najlun ismuhu sharīfun
 Abdelazizi laqabuhu Ben Yeffu

Text 8

Healer: *salamu ‘alaikum*

Jinni: *‘alikum salam*

(There is silence, and then the healer asks the interviewer to talk to the ‘jinni.’ The latter hesitates because this is his first experience. The healer resumes the conversation)

H: *shkun nta lli fi had l-khushba ka t-kellem m-‘ana*

J: *‘afrit*

H: *‘afrit / hada huwa llaqab dyalk*

J: *ayeh*

H: *blama man suwluk ‘la sabab dylak bash dkhalti l-had l-khushba / gul lina ‘lash*

J: *dkhalt ‘la sihr*

H: *shhal bash mahkum ‘lik bash dwuz*

J: *shhar*

H: *u ghadi tkhwi l-khushba t-khalliha salima ‘la khir u bikhir*

J: *ayeh*

H: *nta fi l-hukm dyalmen*

J: *ana fi l-hukm dyal Sidi ‘Abdelaziz u Ben M‘ashu u Sidi ‘Ali*

H: *nta fi l-hukm dyal-hum / huma li sanyin lik had l-wraq / tkamel had l-waqet*

J: *ana daba fi hkam Sid ‘Abdelaziz*

H: *nta mjewej ula ma mjewesh*

J: *lla kent baghi ntjewej biha / wala kin thkem ‘liya bash nkhrej menha*

H: *nta shhal fi l-‘umur dyalk*

J: *‘andi 27 (the age of the girl)*

H: *l-walidin dyalk baqin bi l-hayat*

J: *baqin*

H: *wash na humaya / mumin ula kafirin*

J: *muminin*

H: *muminin*

J: *ana hetta mumen ‘ada dkhalt l-mumna*

H: *‘andek shi khut*

J: *‘andi*

H: *kbar menek u la sghar menek*

J: *kulhum kbar menni*

H: *had l-ustad li ja ‘andna / ma ‘rafna-sh qadityu mejewej ula ma mjewejsh*

J: *szwelu*

H: *nta mat gulsh lina 'lih / wash wakhed wahda nasraniya, mselma, shrifiya u la ma shrifiyash*

J: *ana man 'tiksh l-hal 'la dakshi / ana nqader n-'tik l-hal 'la shi khadma / zway manqadersh / nta rak dewezti m-'aya u 'arfini / tanta khasek t-'taref biya*

H: *hna msellmin u talbin tslim / had ssa'a ma-jayiniksh bel 'unf / (addressing the interviewer) daba nta ash bghaiti tswel*

I: *ana ma 'andi man swel*

H: *daba hada rah l-'afrit li huwa hader*

J: (interrupts) *ana ra fi haqek bash hdart m-'ahum / amma ana hakem 'liya jedha u jedkum man-qdar-sh*

H: (interrupts) *bash ma t-hdar-sh m'a shi wahed ajnabi*

J: *ha*

H: *barak Allah u fik / 'andna wahed su'al / hna shurfa dyal Ben Yeffu / bghina n-diru wahed l-jam'iya / u ma 'rafnash wash ghadi tyaser ula lla*

The healer keeps talking while the prayer caller starts calling for afternoon prayer. There is silence. Then the healer says:

ma t-mshish hetta y-skut l-adan / u raje' had l-umur li gulna lik

H: (after the calling for prayer) *ghadi t-'fina shi ma'lumat / ila mshina 'and l-qaid / yi-sa'dna fi had l-qadiya*

J: *dakshi li f damir dyalkum huwa lli ghadi yskhur*

H: *ghadi tyser l-umur 'la khir u bikhir / kan shkruk*

There is silence

Interviewer: (to the healer to break the silence and resume the conversation) *swelu shhal hadi u huwa fi had l-khushba*

H: *had l-ustad taygul lina / shhal hadi u n-ta fi had l-khushba*

J: *ana*

H: *ayeh*

J: *'amain*

H: *'amain / u daba 'ada n-fajerti*

J: *'amain una m-hareb ana uyaha / ka t-hragni b-sala*

H: *mu'alliya / wa shahi 'amain unta shaber l-qahra / umalek 'la had l-hala kamla / ila makant hiya kayna ghairha*

J: *fin ghadi telga ghairha / ma talgash b-halha wakha t-sara ber u bhar / matlgash bhalha la 'adna ula 'adkum*

H: *hna makan t-jezejush menkum*

J: *lla kain / ana kent ghadi n-diha*

I: *sewlu 'al sabab*

H: *rah gal lina sabab / sihr*

J: (interrupted) *wahed siyeda sakena hdaha / dartu liha fi talun dyalha bash ana t-jelbet u jit*

H: (silence) *bslama / 'ayetna 'lik bash njem'u m'ak shwiya mashi bash n-şar'uk / ze'ma matqdarsh t-khdem m'ana hna / ta daba fash ghadi tkhwi had l-khushba / fin ghadi t-mshi*

J: *ghadi n-mshi f-hali*

H: *n-shabuk shi rajel kbir day u jayeb fi zman / u 'aref shi blaşa fiha dhab / hna ra qatelna ghir zlat ana u wahed l-mqaddem*

J: *l-hamdu lillah / rakum 'aichin bikhir*

H: *ashwiya u-khlaş / bghaina tahna shi twaimibil ashi khrishisha / n-bqaw mgablin ghir l-hmir / kul sa'a ytayhuna / kul nuba ngulu ghadi ntga'du / hetta shi nhar n-tga'du mharsin*

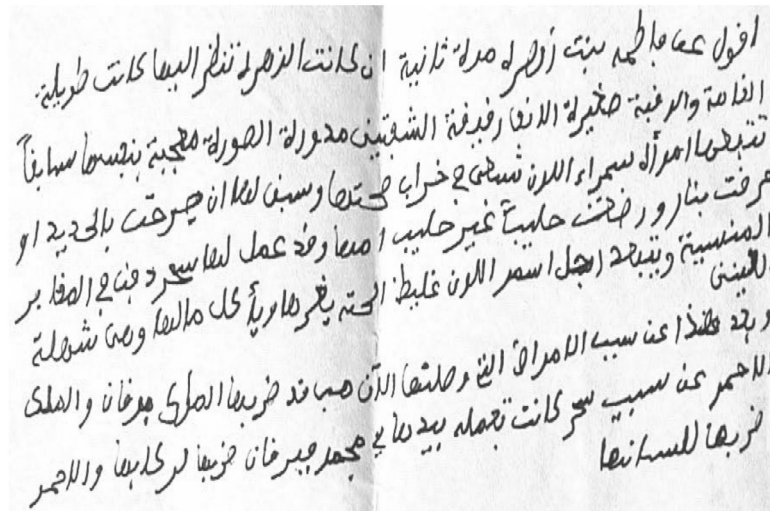
J: (No answer)

H: *musamaħa*

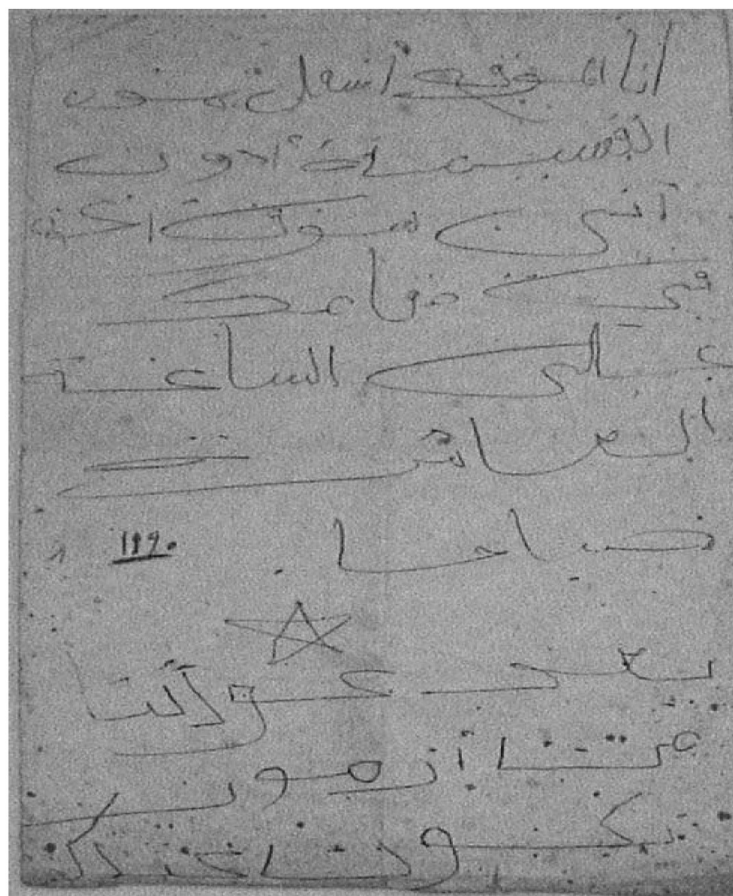
J: *musamaħa*

APPENDIX THREE

A Message of the khabir



The *khabir* (informant jinni) says: “I say about Fatima Bent Zohra a second time that if one looks at her she is tall, slim, has a long neck, small nose, thin lips, and round face. She is proud of herself. First, a woman of brown colour persecuted her. She sought to destroy her health. Fatima was once wounded with iron or burnt with fire. She also sucked milk that was not her mother’s. A spell targeted her and was buried in the forsaken tombs. Also, a man of brown colour followed her. He had a stout body and flattered her in order to take her money (*the fqih claims that the description given by the jinni applies to Fatima’s husband*). Fatima is dark blue-eyed. After all that and because of all the sicknesses she had suffered, the King Burqan struck her. Also, the Red King struck her on account of a spell she used to do in the censor with her hand. Burqan attacked her in the knees and the Red King in her tongue.”

A Finni's script

I who sign below will be at your place at 10 am. After our return from Azemmour, we will be there.

APPENDIX FOUR

The following diagram charts the illocutionary force of the whole exchange, including semiotic, pragmatic, and hermeneutic patterns. Each segment of speech is distinguished on the basis of a change in deictic orientation. The diagram is made up of the following constituents (the symbols are invented because the annotations suggested by Elam do not figure in Microsoft Word. Elam's model of analysis is much detailed than the one outlined below):

Sta: the interlocutor's statement / H: healer; J: Jinni

Seg: a new deictic unit.

Sp: Speaker

List: actual addressee

D.O (deictic orientation): explicit deictic references are represented symbolically as follows:

Person-Deixis: I / you / we / he, etc.

Spatial Deixis: here, there.

Temporal Deixis: now, then.

Functional Deixis: orientation towards current activity, absent activity (this / these, that / those)

Object Deixis: this / these, that / those.

Ten (tense): Orientation towards present, past, future.

Ch (channel): this is a somewhat heterogeneous column including the dominant physical channels along which the characters operate (acoustic or visual), together with physical, psychological, emotional and ideational states expressed by the speaker, references entailing movements, etc. it registers the axes along which the communication unfolds (physical, mental and emotional), the involvement of the speaker's body in the communication and the individual characters' biases (towards the physical world, towards cerebration, towards their own bodies or their own emotional condition).

♪ acoustic channel (emphasis on the act of hearing / speaking)

👁 visual channel (emphasis on the act of looking, seeing)

♀ the body (references to the speaker's or interlocutor's physical involvement in the scene)

↓♀ movement (reference entailing a definite kinesic event)

♥ emotional state (reference to attitude or reaction)

☞ cerebration (ideational bias, expression of concepts)

Top. (topic / object of discourse): by 'topic of discourse' is meant the global theme or central concern of the exchange.

I.F (illocutionary force): Searle's taxonomy has been adopted. There will inevitably be instances of ambiguity, but the apparent force of the utterance is indicated.

! Directives

!! Command

! ? Question

!√ Invitation / request

Representatives

|| Assertion

+ Affirmation

- Negation

≈ Hypothesis

E Expressives

E△ Thanks

E∞ Greeting / Salute

E∩ Apology

C Commissives

CP Promise

C Vow

CU Undertaking

D Declarations

Where the illocutionary force is given in parenthesis, an indirect speech act is indicated, while the first symbol indicates the apparent force involved. Thus **! ? (!!)** indicates a question which is also an indirect expression of a command.

E.P (explicit performative): a speech act whose illocutionary force is specified through a performative verb ('I order you...'). The presence of such a verb is indicated by a + sign.

P.E (if a given command, say, is obeyed, it achieves a perlocutionary effect, indicated by a + sign. If it is not obeyed, the failure to achieve the effect is indicated by - sign. Where it is rendered null and void (impossible to carry out for example), an x sign appears.

Imp (Implicatures / rhetorical figures (unspoken meanings founded on the cooperative principle and the major context bound figures of speech are indicated.

Mod (modality: propositional attitudes): this is a “logical” column concerned with the attitude expressed by the speaker towards the propositional content of the utterance (belief, possibility, etc.) and thus the logical modality governing the segment. It indicates the speaker’s stance towards his own discourse.

p Alethic necessity (it is the case that p)

-p Alethic necessity (negative) (it is not the case that p)

pos.p Alethic possibility (it is possible that p)

?p Alethic possibility: interrogative (is p?)

Hp Alethic possibility: hypothesis (if p)

Prob.p Alethic probability (it is probable that p)

-pos.p Alethic impossibility (it is not possible that p)

Kp Epistemic certainty (I know that p)

-Kp epistemic doubt (I do not know if p)

Bp doxastic modality (I believe that p)

-Bp doxastic modality (negative) (I do not believe that p)

Wp boulomaic modality (I want / wish that p)

-Wp boulomaic modality (negative) (I do not want / wish that p)

Op deontic modality of obligation (you must p)

-Op deontic modality of non-obligation (you need not p)

O-p deontic modality of prohibition (you must not p)

Pp deontic modality of permission (you may p)

Where one modality incorporates another, square brackets are used. Thus W[kp] indicates ‘I want to know p’.

C.C (cultural codes): this section is designed to indicate the chief social, ideological, religious, moral, epistemological and intellectual norms invoked in the [exchange]. (Elam, 1980, pp. 185–191)

Table 1. A Micro-Segmentation of the Jinni-Healer’s Discourse (I)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (1)	---	H	J	You	imp	♪	Ordering the jinni to curse Satan
J (2)	---	J	H		pres		Cursing Satan
H (3)	---	H	J	You	imp	♪	Ordering the jinni to curse Satan
J (4)	---	J	H		pres		Cursing Satan
H (5)	---	H	J	You	imp	♪	Ordering the jinni to curse Satan

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
J (6)	---	J	H		pres		Cursing Satan
H (7)	---	H	J	You			Asking the Jinni about his name
J (8)	---	'Aicha	H				Name revealed
H (9)	---	H	'Aicha				Asking the jinni to specify his identity
J (10)	---	'Aicha	H				Identity specified
H (11)	---	H	'Aicha	You			Asking about the number of jinns haunting the body
J (12)	---	'Aicha	H	I			'Aicha and Mira haunt the body
H (13)	---	H	'Aicha				Asking for the exact number
J (14)	---	'Aicha	H				Mira and Malika haunt the body
H (15)	---	H	'Aicha	You			Asking further about male presence
J (16)	---	'Aicha	H				Only women exist
H (17)	---	H	'Aicha	I		♪	Asking whether he is speaking to 'Aicha
H (18)	---	H	J				Asking about belief / religion
J (19)	---	Malika	H		pres		Malika is present
H (20)	---	H	Malika	You	imp	♪	Ordering the jinni to say 'yes'
J (21)	---	Malika	H				The jinni says 'yes'

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (22)	(1)	H	Malika	You			Reminding the jinni that he is in the presence of the Sultan
H (22)	(2)	H	Malika	You			Asking whether she accepts to surrender
J (23)	---	Malika	H				She accepts to surrender
H (24)	---	H	Malika	You			Repetition of the formula of surrender
J (25)	---	Malika	H				She accepts to surrender
H (26)	---	H	Malika	You			Asking Malika whether she is married
J (27)	---	Malika	H				Malika says she is not married
H (28)	---	H	Malika	You / she			Asking about the problem of possession
J (29)	---	Malika	H	We / she			The problem is <i>ḍim</i>
H (30)	---	H	Malika	You/ she	pres		Asking about the time of possession
J (31)	---	Malika	H				The time of possession is given
H (32)	---	H	Malika	You / she	future		Ordering the jinns to release the woman
J (33)	---	Malika	H				The jinni refuses

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (34)	---	H	Malika				Asking the jinni the cause of her refusal
J (35)	---	Malika	H	We / She	pres		She says that the patient burns the jinns with prayers
H (36)	---	H	Malika	You			Asking Jinns whether they are Jewish
J (37)	---	Malika	H	We/ she	future		The jinni's refusal to release the woman
H (38)	---	H	Malika	You / she	future		Threatening the jinni by repeating her expressions
J (39)	---	Malika	H	You / she	future	♥	Insisting on her decision: no release
H (40)	---	H	Malika			♀	Asking for the cause
H (41)	---	H	Malika	You	imp	♀	Ordering the jinni to behave properly
J (42)	---	Malika	H			♥	Shouting for mercy
H (43)	---	H	Malika	You	imp	♪	Ordering Malika to call 'Aicha
J (44)	---	'Aicha	H			♥	'Aicha says that she is present
H (45)	---	H	'Aicha	You	imp	♪	Ordering 'Aicha to listen
J (46)	---	'Aicha	H				'Aicha claims that she is present
H (47)	(1)	H	'Aicha	She	pres		He tells them that the woman has come to implore the Sultan

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (47)	(2)	H	'Aicha	You	future		Ordering the jinns to respect the intercession of the Sultan
J (48)	---	'Aicha	H	We / she			Refusal to forgive the woman
H (49)	(1)	H	'Aicha	You	imp	♪	Ordering the jinni to listen
H (49)	(2)	H	'Aicha	They / you			Ordering the jinns to respect the intercession of the <i>shurfa</i>
H (50)	---	H	'Aicha	You	imp	♪ / ♀	Ordering 'Aicha to call Mira
J (51)	---	'Aicha	H	She	pres	♥	'Aicha refuses
H (52)	---	H	'Aicha	She	imp	♥	Ordering 'Aicha to call Mira to trial 'Aicha refuses
J (53)	---	'Aicha	H			♀	
H (54)	---	2 (Hs)	'Aicha	You	imp	♀	Ordering 'Aicha to stop
H (55)	---	H	'Aicha	You	imp	♀	Ordering 'Aicha to call Mira
J (56)	---	'Aicha	H	She	Pres	♥	'Aicha refuses
H (57)	---	H	'Aicha	She	imp		Ordering 'Aicha to call Mira to attend her trial
J (58)	---	'Aicha	H	She	pres	♥	Disagreement about the time: not now
H (59)	---	H	'Aicha	She	pres		indirect order to call the jinni to trial
J (60)	---	'Aicha	H	She	pres	♥	Disagreement about the time: not now

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (61)	---	H	'Aicha	She	pres		He tells 'Aicha that Mira must come to her trial
J (62)	---	'Aicha	H			♥	Asking for the turn (<i>nuba</i>)
H (63)	(1)	H	'Aicha	I	pres		He says that he knows the <i>nuba</i> system
H (63)	(2)	H	'Aicha	She	pres	♪	Ordering 'Aicha to call Mira to be interrogated
H (64)	---	H	Mira	I / You	imp		Promising Mira to be fair
J (65)	---	J	H				The jinni promises to be present at Afternoon prayer
H (66)	---	H	J				He wants to make sure it is a fair promise
J (67)	---	J	H	She	pres		Mira makes up her mind/ She manifests her presence
H (68)	---	H	Mira	You	imp		He welcomes her
J (69)	---	Mira	H	They		♥	She protests about the reception
H (70)	---	H	Mira	She / they		♥	He assures her that she is welcomed
H (71)	(1)	H	Mira	You		♥	Ordering her to stop panting
H (71)	(2)	H	Mira	She			He assures her that she is well welcomed
H (72)	---	H	Mira	You	imp		He welcomes her

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
J (73)	---	Mira	H	I			She expresses surrender
H (74)	---	H	Mira	He		♥	Ordering her to surrender to the Sultan's rule
J (75)	---	Mira	H	I / he			She expresses surrender
H (76)	---	H	Mira	He		♥	Ordering her to surrender to the Sultan's rule
J (77)	---	Mira	H	He / I	past		She affirms that the Sultan brought her to the shrine
H (78)	---	H	Mira	You			He welcomes her
J (79)	---	Mira	H	He / I	past		She affirms that The Sultan brought her to the shrine
H 80	---	H	Mira	You			Asking her whether she is married
J (81)	---	Mira	H				She says that she is not married
H (82)	---	H	Mira	You			Asking her about her age
J (83)	---	Mira	H				She says she is four years-old
H (84)	---	H	Mira	You			The healer expresses his amazement
J (85)	---	Mira	H				The jinn confirms that she is young

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (86)	---	H	Mira	You			the cause of possession
J (87)	---	Mira	H	We / she	Pres.		The cause is excessive weeping
H (88)	---	H	Mira	You / she	past		in a maraboutic parlance: <i>d7im</i> (grief)
J (89)	---	Mira	H	We / she	Pres.		excessive weeping about her dead mother
H (90)	---	H	Mira	You			Ordering them not to interfere with her
H (91)	(1)	H	Mira				Asking the jinni to forgive her
H (91)	(2)	H	Mira				And to respect the intercession of the <i>shurfa</i> and the Sultan
H (91)	(3)	H	Mira	She			Negotiating with the jinni forgiveness
H (91)	(4)	H	Mira	You	future		Negotiating release
J (92)	---	Mira	H				Mira accepts the deal
H (93)	---	H	Mira				Negotiating agreement
J (94)	---	Mira	H				Agreement
H (95)	---	H	Mira	You			Asking for the vow
J (96)	---	Mira	H				Accepting the vow
H (97)	---	H	Mira	You		♀	Asking Mira to lift the body's right hand

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
H (98)	---	H	Mira	You		♀	Trying to make sure that it is the right hand
J (99)	---	Mira	H				Confirming the fact
H (100)	---	H	Mira	You			Whether she is a believer
J (101)	---	Mira	H	You			She confirms the fact
H (102)	---	H	Mira	You / we	pres	♪	Ordering her to vociferate the vow after him
J (103)	---	Mira	H	I / We	pres	♪	Uttering the vow
H (104)	---	H	Mira	You / we	pres	♪	Uttering the vow for a second time
J (105)	---	Mira	H	I / we	pres	♪	Repeating the vow
H (106)	---	H	Mira	You			Assigning her the duty of supervising the other jinns
J (107)	---	Mira	H	I / they			Accepting the responsibility and asserting her power over them
H (108)	---	H	Mira	You			Assigning her the duty of leaving the host in peace

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sta.	Seg.	Sp.	List.	D.O	Ten.	Ch.	Top.
J (109)	---	Mira	H	I			Accepting the duty
H (110)	---	H	Mira	You			Bidding the jinni farewell and expressing forgiveness
J (111)		Mira	H				Expressing Forgiveness

Table 2. A Micro-Segmentation of the Jinni-Healer's Discourse (II)

Sta.	I.F	E.P	P.E	Imp	Mod	C.C
H (1)	!!	+	+		Op	religious
J (2)	!+				p	religious
H (3)	!!	+	+		Op	religious
J (4)	!+				p	religious
H (5)	!!	+	+		Op	
J (6)	!+				p	religious
H (7)	!?		+		?p	social
J (8)	!+				p	
H (9)	!?		+	Many 'Aicha-s	?p	
J (10)	!+				p	
H (11)	!?		+	Other jinns	?p	
J (12)	!+				P	
H (13)	!?		+	Other jinns	?p	
J (14)	!+				P	
H (15)	!?		-	married	?p	patriarchal
J (16)	!+				P	
H (17)	!?		-		?p	

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Sta.	I.F	E.P	P.E	Imp	Mod	C.C
H (18)	!?		x		?p	religious
J (19)	└-		-		-p	
H (20)	!!	+	+		Op	maraboutic [a formula of sub- mission]
J (21)	└+				P	maraboutic
H (22)	└				p	maraboutic
H (22)	!?		+		?p	maraboutic
J (23)	└+				P	maraboutic
H (24)	!?		+		?p	maraboutic
J (25)	└+				P	maraboutic
H (26)	!?		-		P	social
J (27)	└-				- p	social
H (28)	!?		+		?p	maraboutic
J (29)	└+				p	maraboutic
H (30)	!?		+		?p	maraboutic
J (31)	└+				p	maraboutic
H (32)	!? (!!)		-		?p	maraboutic
J (33)	└-				- p	
H (34)	!?		+		?p	
J (35)	└+				P	maraboutic
H (36)	└ (!?)		x	Lack of faith	P	cultural
J (37)	└				P	
H (38)	!? (!!)		-		?p	
J (39)	└-				- p	

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Sta.	I.F	E.P	P.E	Imp	Mod	C.C
H (40)	!?		+		?p	
H (41)	!!		+		Op	
J (42)	!√		x		O[Pp]	
H (43)	!!		+		Op	
J (44)	└ +				P	
H (45)	!!		+		Op	
J (46)	└ +				P	
H (47)	└			Sultan's power	P	maraboutic
H (47)	!!		-		Op	
J (48)	└ -			Challenging the Sultan's power	- p	
H (49)	!!		x		Op	
H (49)	!!		x	<i>Shurfa's</i> mediation	Op	maraboutic
H (50)	!!		-		Op	
J (51)	└ -				- p	
H (52)	!!		-		Op	
J (53)	└ -				- p	
H (54)	!!		+		Op	
H (55)	!!		-		Op	
J (56)	└ -				- p	
H (57)	!!		-		Op	
J (58)	└ -				P	
H (59)	! ? (!)		-		?p	
J (60)	└ -				P	
H (61)	!!	+	-		Op	

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Sta.	I.F	E.P	P.E	Imp	Mod	C.C
J (62)	!?			The rules of trial	P	maraboutic
H (63)	┆				P	
H (63)	┆ (!!)		-		Op	
H (64)	CP		+		Op	maraboutic
J (65)	┆ +				P	
H (66)	!?		+		? p	
J (67)	┆ +				P	
H (68)	!√		+		O[Pp]	
J (69)	┆			Sexual hint	P	anti-patriarchal
H (70)	┆			Sexual hint	P	
H (71)	!!		x	Restraining her	Op	partiriachal
H (71)	┆				P	
H (72)	!√		+		O[Pp]	
J (73)	┆ +				P	
H (74)	┆ (!!)				P	maraboutic
J (75)	┆			Obedience	P	maraboutic
H (76)	┆ (!!)				P	
J (77)	┆ +				P	
H (78)	!√		+		O[Pp]	
J (79)	┆ +				P	
H 80	!?		-		?p	Patriarchal
J (81)	┆ -				- p	
H (82)	!?		+		?p	
J (83)	┆ +				P	

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Sta.	I.F	E.P	P.E	Imp	Mod	C.C
H (84)	└─ (!?)		+		P	
J (85)	└─ +				P	
H (86)	!?		+		?p	
J (87)	└─ +				P	
H (88)	└─				P	maraboutic
J (89)	└─				P	maraboutic
H(90)	└─ (!!)				P	
H (91)	!√				O[Pp]	
H (91)	!√				O[Pp]	
H (91)	CP				P	
H (91)	└─ (!!)		+		Op	maraboutic
J (92)	└─ +				P	maraboutic
H (93)	!?		+		?p	maraboutic
J (94)	└─ +				P	maraboutic
H (95)	!?		+		?p	maraboutic
J (96)	└─ +				P	maraboutic
H (97)	!!		+		Op	maraboutic
H (98)	!?		+	The jinn may be an infidel	W[Kp]	maraboutic
J (99)	└─ +				P	
H (100)	!?		+		?p	religious
J (101)	└─ +				P	
H (102)	!!	+	+		Op	maraboutic
J (103)	CV				P	maraboutic
H (104)	!!	+	+		Op	maraboutic

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Sta.	I.F	E.P	P.E	Imp	Mod	C.C
J (105)	CV				P	maraboutic
H (106)	!!		+		Op	maraboutic
J (107)	┆+				P	maraboutic
H (108)	!!		+		Op	maraboutic
J (109)	┆+				P	maraboutic
H (110)	$E \cap$				P	social
J (111)	$E \cap$				P	social

GLOSSARY

- ʿafrit* (f. sing. *ʿafrita*): a powerful and fearsome jinni.
- ʿain*: (usually pronounced *l-ʿain*): the evil eye
- ʿalem* (pl. *ʿulama*): a religious scholar.
- ʿamel*: a Moroccan official responsible for a town or city.
- ʿar*: lit., shame; a vow or promise. Also it may mean compulsion.
- fis*: the action of treading upon patients practiced by the *Buffis* to cure possession. At Ben Yeffu, the *shrif*'s leg is believed to be imbued with *baraka*. The patient prostrates himself in front of the *shrif* while the latter uses his right leg to press him with gently in order to cure him from possession or immunize him against it.
- baraka*: holiness, blessing, good fortune, supernatural blessing, abundance; a miraculous force that emanates from sacred persons and places. It is either inherited or acquired.
- baruk*: sacred relics; any item or service sanctified by the *baraka* of the saint. Dates and figs are recurrent symbols for *baruk*. The word *baruk* is derived from *baraka*.
- bay'a*: oath or covenant of allegiance to a king or marabout.
- berd* (also pronounced *l-berd*): lit., cold; it is believed to be the cause of many organic diseases.
- bkhur*: incense; fumigation.
- Buffi*: a person from Ben Yeffu.
- bukhan* (verb. *y-bukh*): the action of blowing the air or saliva from the mouth. It is believed to contain *baraka* and may heal the patient.
- dahir*: royal decree.
- darih*: a sanctuary; shrine.
- daw*: lit. light; candles taken to the shrine as *zyara*.
- dbiha*: sacrifice.
- dikr*: invocation; litany.
- dirham* (abbr.dh): a unit of Moroccan currency. The sum of 10dh is roughly equivalent to \$1.
- djellaba*: Moroccan traditional dress; a sort of wrapper.
- fakhda* (pl. *fakhdas*): lit. thigh; a descendent lineage. Tribes descending from the same ancestor are called *fakhdas*.
- faqih* (pl. *fuqaha*): a religious scholar.
- fatha*: wish prayers.
- fqiḥ* (pl. *fugha*): a religious teacher; Koran reciter.
- fuh* (pl. *futuḥat*): money given to the healer in return for the healing service he does.
- ḥadra*: the ritualised ecstatic dance practiced by members of religious brotherhoods like Hamadsha, Isawa, and Gnawa.
- haj*/ Haj: it is a title given to those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
- hal* (pl. *ahwal*): ecstatic trance.
- haq*: obligation; share or right; truth.
- hawsh*: a small place surrounded by a pile of stones.
- hezab* (pl. *hezaba*): a chanter of the Koran.
- ḥfid* (pl. *ḥufdan*): a descendent of the saint.
- hiba*: gift.
- hjab*: talisman.
- hkya*: tale.
- hshuma*: impropriety; shame.

jafriya (*nabawiya*) (pl. *jafriyāt*): rhythmic verses or any other type of writing that is prophetic. It foresees the future (Al Jirari, 1970, p. 684). In Moroccan popular lyrics called *l-malhun*, there exists, *jafriyāt* also called *l-rubiyāt*; poetry that foresees the future; e.g., before colonialism, some Moroccan folk poets wrote songs anticipating the advent of French colonialism.

jama': a mosque

jawi: benzoin

jedba: ecstasy; a frenetic trance dance

jinn (f. sing. *jinniya*, pl. *jnun*): a jinni; an invisible being with supernatural powers.

idn: permission; it is the magic key to *baraka*. If one has the *baraka* and does not have the saint's permission (*l-idn*) to use it, it doesn't work. For instance, at Ben Yeffu, there are *shurfa* who are not permitted to practice *ṣri'* outside the *zawiya* because they do not have *l-idn* from the saint to practice it. As one healer claims, *l-idn* is usually given to one in a dream. He says that he had a dream in which he saw the saint who warned him against going somewhere else practicing *ṣri'*. The *shurfa* who practice outside Ben Yeffu are given *l-idn* by the saint in similar dreams.

ihaba: a miraculous force; inspiring awe.

imam: a prayer-leader

imara: Sufi chanting of litany, sometimes accompanied with dancing (*jedba*).

in'am: royal donation.

jarray (pl. *jarraya*): in the past, he was an administrator lower than the *muqaddem* of the authorities. He worked under the *qaid*'s command.

jihad: a war waged to defend or spread Islam.

Kafir (pl. *kafara*): unbeliever

kalkha: lit. punishment; a stick from a wild plant (*klakh*), called by Oulad Ben Yeffu the sword of jinn.

khdim (pl. *khuddam*): a servant of the saint; someone who devotes himself to the service of the saint, or his descendants. He cultivates the land and does all the concomitant tasks of servitude.

khalwa: an underground tunnel used to confine sick patients. It is also called the prison of jinns.

kharṣ: an agricultural tax similar to the *mukkus* (trade tax). Both taxes were not religiously institutional (like *zakat*, for instance). *kharṣ* was imposed by the Makhzen on the masses of fellahs each agricultural year. It was collected by an administrator who used to make his own estimations of the tax to be imposed on the harvest and cattle each fellah owned.

khaṭ (also called *ṛhal*): a style of magic practiced for the purpose of foreseeing the future.

khushba: lit. wood; corpse, body.

Klakh: it is a wild plant that grows in forests, or by the road, and is used to heal different sorts of sicknesses.

Maghreb: North Africa; also the Arabic term for Morocco.

mahkama: court; in the Buḥfi mythology it is the court of jinn.

majdub (f. *majduba*; pl. *majadib*): a person who is attracted towards God; erratic; diviner.

marfuda: conditional gift; the patient is under the compulsion to offer a gift to the saint or the healer if he is cured.

mashdud: a patient caught by the saint and whose period of convalescence is unknown.

mezwar: is another name for *muqaddem*, the leader of the *ḥuṣḍan*. Literally, it means someone liked by pilgrims, who are always looking forward to visit him.

makhzeni: a guard attached to the office of a *qaid*.

mousssem: an annual pilgrimage to a saint's tomb.

- mujahid*: a warrior in the path of Allah; a religious warrior; a participant in the holy war (*jihad*) against infidels.
- muqaddem*: a spokesman of the *hufdan*; the leader of a lineage group descending from a saint; an administrator working under the *qaid*'s command.
- murabit*: a man attached to God and has the power to communicate God's *baraka* to his supplicants; a marabout.
- mşalla*: An open-air mosque usually built on the fringes of the cemetery used for feast prayers and sometimes for prayers for rain.
- msellmin* (also *talbin tsim*): patients or 'jinns' who surrender and obey the power of the saint.
- mshaga*: female hair shedding from the process of combing. Women are always anxious to hide this residue and place it in safe corners. Sometimes they throw it as *tab'a*.
- na'ra*: a stinging fly that attacks donkeys, mules and horses. The stinging fly that attacks cows and bulls is called *ţaykuk*.
- nḥira*: slaughter place.
- niya*: faith.
- nuba*: lit. turn; the eight lineages of the saint benefit from the *futuḥat* by turns. Each week the representatives of a lineage sit in the *maḥkama* from Tuesday to Monday and receive the *futuḥat*; team of representatives (*nouab*)
- qadi*: a religious judge.
- qaid*: in the past, it was a chief of a tribe (*amghar*) appointed by the Makhzen as *qaid* of his own region. Now, it is an official appointed by the Ministry of Interior, and is responsible for a rural region called commune (*qiyada*), or is responsible for an urban district called *da'ira*.
- qubba* [pl. *qbab*]: a saint's tomb; a building with a domed roof.
- rawḍa al-mansiya*: the forgotten cemetery in which burial stopped for a long time.
- ryah*: lit. winds; air jinns.
- ryal*: a unit of Moroccan currency. The sum of 200 ryals is roughly equivalent to \$1.
1 Saudi Ryal = 0.26671 US Dollar.
- shub*: the practice of traditional therapy; the treatment the healer gives the patient.
- shakwa*: complaint.
- shayṭani*: relating to Satan; children of Satan.
- shifa*: cure.
- shrif* (f. sing. *shrifya*, pl. *shurfa*): someone who claims patrilineal descent from Fatima the daughter of the Prophet Mohammed.
- shuwafa*: a fortune teller.
- sidi* [female *lalla*]: a title conferring honor on the male descendents of the Prophet.
- sihr*: magic; witchcraft.
- siyyed* (pl. *sadat*): a saint; the tomb of a saint.
- şlata*: mishap; unknown cause.
- sulṭa*: authority; government. For the Buffis, *sulṭa* is the local authorities, or the *qaid*'s administration.
- tab'a*: a female jinni pursuer also named *qraina*. It is believed to create impediments for people and block their way to success.
- tabut*: a coffin.
- ṭa'ifa*: a Sufi team.
- ṭaleb*: a Koran reciter.
- ṭariqa*: a Sufi path.
- ṭbaṭil*: the undoing of spell
- tsim*: see *msellmin*.
- tukal*: sorcery; poison.
- duls* (sing. *dul*): admissible witnesses in court whose work consists of writing estate contracts and bearing witness to them—a practice that is slowly and currently being replaced by the practice of notaries. *duls* are also responsible for writing marriage

contracts and bearing witness to them. In other words, they may be considered traditional notaries.

wali: a saint.

zakat: an institutional alms tax on cattle and other resources opposite to the *kharṣ* that was regarded as an illegitimate tax.

zawiya: a religious lodge where members of a religious brotherhood meet, chant their litanies and practice the rituals of their *ṭariqa*. For the Buffis, it is also a shop where a Buffi healer practices *shub*.

zhar: luck; rosemary; from it we get *ma zhar* distilled rosemary water.

ʿzib: in the 19th century, it was an estate granted to marabouts by the Makhzen, and was exempt from direct government taxes and control.

ṣyara: pilgrimage to a saint; an offering to a saint.

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FIGURES

THE BUFFI WORLD OF *BARAKA*



Figure 1. *A view of the shrine from the top of a nearby towering house.*



Figure 2. *A view of the shrine's square and cells from the top of a minaret.*



Figure 3. *People are squabbling to get inside Sidi Ali's qubba.*



Figure 4. *The maḥkama of jinn where the ḥuḍḍan sit to receive futuḥāt from visitors and exorcise spirits.*



Figure 5. *The palace of the saint now occupied by a shuwafa and her husband, a Buḥfi healer.*



Figure 6. *The khalwa where the saint used to retreat to worship, now called the prison of jinn, and used to incarcerate violent possessed patients.*



Figure 7. *People are standing by the threshold of Sidi Abdelaziz's qubba waiting to squeeze a place where to sit by his coffin inside.*



Figure 8. *The 'Afsa, the hoof print of the saint's horse.*



Figure 9. *A view of the moussem of Ben Yeffu from the top of a minaret.*



Figure 10. *A male patient is sweeping his face with part of the cloth covering the coffin hoping to get the baraka of the saint.*



Figure 11. *Al-Agba al-Hamra, a place where people get henna (red soil) from.*



Figure 12. *Visitors are circumambulating Sid al-Kerkur (the Cairn).*



Figure 13. *Supplicants are facing the coffin and making their wishes.*



Figure 14. *Supplicants are sleeping by tombs waiting for prophetic visions.*



Figure 15. *A healer sitting in the mahkama writing talismans.*



Figure 16. *Molted hair and underclothing rags are hanging on thorns thrown at al-ʿAgba al-Hamra [the Red Slope] at Ben Yeffu by visitors who wish that tabʿa, the jinni, ceases dogging their steps.*



Figure 17. *The ḥufḍān are busy sharing revenues of the day.*



Figure 18. *A jinn possessed Buffi is leaning on the coffin of the saint, asking for help from his grandfather.*



Figure 19. *A supplicant is kissing one of the corners of the coffin, as a typical way of saluting the saint.*

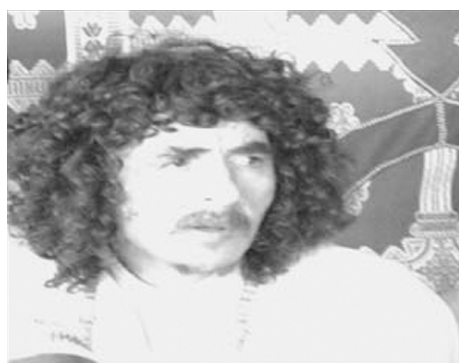


Figure 20. *A stereotypical appearance of the majdub in the maraboutic culture.*



Fig 21. *A patient receiving the baruk of şri' by a healer at the mahkama of Ben Yeffu. The stick the healer holds in hand is called kalkha.*



Fig 22. *A female patient caught by the saint (mashduda) is practicing haqra*



Fig 23. *Buffis are practising jedba during the moussem.*



Fig 24. *The ḥuḍḍan are sitting inside the qubba receiving zyara (tribute—candles and sugar) from visitors.*



Fig 25. *A healer is treading upon a patient to cure him. This treading practice is well known at Ben Yeffu as l-'fis.*



Fig 26. *A visitor is giving ftuḥ to the ḥifd after doing him a healing service.*



Fig 27. *A patient on the verge of getting into a trance of invisible jinn eviction.*



Fig 28. *A healer holding the patient by the head during a scene of jinn eviction.*



Fig 29. *A healer using his kalkha to cure an eye sickness.*



Fig 30. *Frequent scenes like this one show that children are involved in maraboutic cure at a very earlier age.*



Fig 31. *A mother who rejects modern medicine and comes to Ben Yéffu to cure her paralyzed son from what she calls 'adsa fi ras (a lentil seed in the brain), not knowing the scientific parlance that it is a tumour that may be cancerous.*



Fig 32. *A notorious shuwafa at Ben Yéffu invoking jnun before our cameras.*



Fig 33. *A healer pressing his kalkha against his patient's belly hoping to burn the jinni in its stomach.*



Fig 34. *A healer blowing (kay bukh) on the face of a little child who shuts her eyes to shun his saliva.*



Fig 35. *A healer shaking hands with a 'jinni' as a pledge ('ahd) binding the 'jinni' to release its host.*

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